

Nashville, Tenn. Tennessean
January 7, 1939

THE HAND OF ESAU

To the Editor:

The offer proposed by the junior senator from Mississippi to send 3,000,000 Negroes from the United States to be settled in Africa, at the expense of the government, seems absurd.

He also proposes to use adjacent land owned by France and England as pay for the war debt. A movement like this was started several years ago by a well known Negro by the name of Marcus Garvey. Our government ordered him out of the country after various charges against him and a prison sentence.

Will our statesmen and congressmen play the role of Isaac and blindly let our country incur foreign expenses and become more easily entangled in foreign affairs, is this the hand of Esau?

WELBORNE MILLER.

R. F. D. No. 3.

Bilbo's Letter To Congressmen

United States Senate
Committee on Pensions
February 4, 1939.

My Dear Colleague:

Within a few days, I shall introduce in the Senate a bill providing for the "voluntary repatriation or resettlement of the American Negro in his fatherland, Africa." Aside from the desirability for such a program for racial, biological, political and economic reasons, this legislation is sponsored by nearly three million American Negroes, who have signed petitions urging the passage of this measure. I am assured by leaders of the Negro race of the United States that as soon as they finish contacting and explaining the terms of my repatriation program and the advantages of resettlement of their Race in Africa that they will be able to persuade a large percentage of the members of their Race to join in the petition for an opportunity to be settled in Africa.

For your careful study and consideration, I will be pleased to send you a copy of my bill as soon as it is introduced in the Senate.

Preparatory to a study and appreciation of the wisdom of this program, I am pleased to enclose herewith a copy of Lincoln's Negro Policy," by Honorable Earnest Sevier Cox, of Richmond, Va., who is, without a doubt, the outstanding American student on anthropology and race relations. Let me express the hope that you will take this pamphlet home with you and that you will find time to carefully read and analyze it.

The separation of the black man from the white man is the only salvation for both races. Such a program will solve, once and for all, many perplexing problems that are confronting the American people today and that will disturb our peace, harmony and progress in the years to come.

When you understand the truth about our race problem, you will agree with President Jefferson, when he said, "It is certain that the two races cannot live in the same government;" and, in the words of another great leader, "The Negroes and the whites must either wholly part or wholly mingle;" and, again, "If the purity of the two races is to be maintained they cannot continue to live side by side, and this is a problem from which there can be no escape."

I am sure that you have the wisdom and the courage to face this problem and measure up to your great responsibility in helping to solve it aright, especially when the Negro, himself, is willing to go all the way in helping in its proper solution.

Sincerely Yours,
THEO. G. BILBO
U. S. S.

TGB:mf

Bilbo Says Three Million
Negroes in Favor of His
'Back to Africa' Movement

WASHINGTON.—Although he claims that 3,000,000 Negroes have signed petitions urging the passage of a bill to send Negroes "back" to Africa, Theodore G. Bilbo, senator from Mississippi, has not yet produced the petition.

The Negro-hating Mississippian sent a letter to every member of Congress last week telling them of his plan to introduce a bill to deport all Negroes to Africa.

Bilbo made an attempt last spring to attach his bill to the deportation of Negroes to Africa as an amendment to the general relief bill. Under nation-wide protest, he withdrew the amendment, but threatened to bring up his "back to Africa" movement as a separate bill at this session of congress.

VIEWS of the NEWS

By William Pickens

REPATRIATING' THE AMERICAN NEGRO IN HIS 'FATHERLAND'

Mr. Bilbo, U. S. senator from Mississippi, is still talking about sending the American Negro citizen to Africa. Of course, Bilbo, to whom logic means little, says "back to Africa"—but any school child knows that it is impossible to send anybody or anything "back" where it has never been. The American Negro has never been to Africa, and therefore cannot be sent "back."

There are thousands or rather millions of so-called "white" Americans who could be sent back to Europe or to other foreign places; because they have recently come from such places—they are immigrants and naturalized citizens. We do not believe in any nonsense about even sending them back, but we state the fact that they are the only Americans who could be sent "back" somewhere.

If Bilbo will look it up, and if we are to give any weight to priority, he may find that his own ancestors came to America after the ancestors of practically all of our American Negroes had come.

Let us look at the facts: Mr. Bilbo wants congress to send the Negro "back." The Negro is the oldest racial group in American citizenship, and the oldest racial group in America next to the American Indian—and the Indian is not a citizen, as a rule.

All of the 15,000,000 Negroes came here before the Civil war, nearly 80 years ago; but most of the whites in America have come here since the close of the Civil war. The last immigrant shipload of Africans came into Mobile harbor late in 1859, or early in 1860, just before the opening of the war and the closing of southern ports. The great white immigration, Besides, although there was the greatest immigration of all no Bilbo to learn it from his time, just started after that Mississippi school histories, this war was over—and in the years is not a "white man's count just preceding the World war, try": The Negro was a Minute the whites were coming in at a Man and a necessary soldier million and a half a year for its independence (although Therefore: The greater per-centage of the whites in the United States have come here his four or five thousand Ne- since the Negroes stopped com- ing. The only so-called "foreign" Negroes in all the United States are a handful of colored people from the West Indian is-lands, mostly from the British places, like Jamaica and Ber-muda—and they are nearly all in New York city—and are so few that all of them could be gathered in a meeting in Yankee stadium, with plenty of room left over for the spectators. The whole 15 million of American Negroes are native-born citizens of this republic.

Also: today the Negro is about one-tenth of the population of the U. S. A. That is the smallest proportion he has ever been in his history here: in some of the slave colonies he was about half of the population, and in a few he was the

"Back to Africa" Movement Started By British In Order To Rid Barbadoes of Natives

Cunning of Ruling Class Exposed as Attempt to
Convert British Colony Into "Lily White" Heaven

Caribbean Refuge From Fascist Gas

NEW YORK.—(ANP)—While Great Britain dickers with a proposition to send European refugees into British Guiana and subsidize them to the extent of more than one hundred million dollars, a shrewd corps of propaganda writers are flooding the West Indian press with a "Back to Africa" scheme.

Chief among these writers is Capt. Clinton Greig.

Lending itself wholeheartedly to the scheme is the Barbados Advocate, which recently gave 80 per cent of its editorial page to a lengthy article on the scheme.

Most ludicrous of Capt. Greig's articles is the glowing tribute he pays to Africa's wonderful climate, people and opportunities.

West Indians who have been taught for centuries, in school and government subsidized churches that Africa was a dark and barbarous place, are now wondering whether Capt. Greig or Stanley and Kipling and their ilk, are the liars.

The amazing part of this propaganda is the fact that it began full blast right in the middle of the royal commission's hearings.

Capt. Greig says that 80,000 people in Barbados have to be gotten rid of. He did not include any of the swarms of Englishmen who have been trekking into the West Indies in recent years to escape English taxation and perhaps Fascist poison gas.

The hotels and beaches of the Caribbean are becoming thicker and thicker with these expatriates from the "Mother Country" and the fact that most of them are ex-navy and army men on pension with their families, means that sooner or later they will become a pressing problem in the West Indies.

The colonial office often grants them most of the soft jobs in the police and other departments. The commissioner of police who gave the order to "shoot them down" during the recent riots is one of these expatriates.

Booneville, Miss. Independent

May 4, 1939

BILBO'S NEGRO BILL

Sen. Bilbo has attracted some attention in Washington recently by introducing a proposition to deport the Negro race to Africa. He proposes that Uncle Sam acquire a domain in Africa aggregating around 300,000,000 acres and ship the 12,000,000 Negroes we now have in the United States to that place. He wants the government to give each Negro \$1,000 for expenses and spending money. That would total twelve billion dollars. It would require 12,000 ships, each one carrying 1,000 Negroes to get them over the sea. In addition, it would require about 20,000 other ships to carry food and supplies.

Of course the Junior Senator could not be serious about his bill and we have just been wondering why he would introduce a proposition of that sort, in a dignified body like the United States Senate. Why this Negro bill is even worse, if possible, than the brick road propaganda he used to talk about in Mississippi.

The Negroes are citizens of the United States and any movement to deport them would bump into the constitution and there is no way around it. The Negroes might be better off in a country to themselves and this nation might be better off without them. Both questions debatable. But whether best or not, there is no more chance to do such a thing as he proposes than there would be to cause the water of the Mississippi River to turn around and run back up stream.

The GREENWOOD COMMONWEALTH says in a light mood that he favors the Bilbo bill and also favors making Bilbo King and spiritual adviser for the Negro colony when established in Africa. Of course the proposition will never come to a vote in the Senate and if it were to do so, it would not receive a single vote, unless Bilbo carried the joke so far as to vote for it himself.

We have a notion that the constituents of Sen. Bilbo in Mississippi would much rather he would devote his splendid talents to serious and worthwhile matters of state than to be introducing gigantic jokes in that serious law making body. In times like these when war clouds are hovering over the world and there is distress and strife and hunger and poverty on every side the man who is selected to represent a great state in the law-making body of a great nation should be able to find plenty

to do to employ his time and talents without blowing fantastic bubbles which burst in mid-air.

49th State Urged By Detroit Official

DETROIT.—(ANP)—Will there be a 49th state in this country? Should there be a 49th state? Well, it all depends on just how far Councilman John A. Kronk of this city gets with his proposal for Wayne, Macomb, Washtenaw, Oakland and Monroe counties of this state to secede from Michigan and establish a new state.

It all has to do with a long belief that the five counties named, although constituting 50 per cent of the state's population and paying more than 67 per cent of the taxes to the state, cannot get a fair and equitable return from the State legislature because that body is more or less dominated by delegates from the smaller counties.

Wayne is the largest county in the state and greater Detroit, with its 1,500,000 population would more than likely be the capital of the new state. That there will be stiff opposition in the state legislature against such a proposal is a certainty, but a meeting will be held in the near future by city and county officials, business men and legislative representative of the proposed seceding counties to determine if the move is justifiable and just what can and should be done about it.

Open Letter To Senator Bilbo

Senator Theo. G. Bilbo
Washington, D. C.

*Northwest Enterprise
Seattle Wash.*

4-21-39

Received advance copy of your bill and letter of April 11th, relative to proposed legislation for Negro-American colonization in a section of Africa. Exerpts from both the bill and letter are published in this issue of the NORTHWEST ENTERPRISE.

You refer to this country as being designed and established for a white man's civilization only. Careful inspection of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States of America will correct your information. May I add, that the first blood spilled for freedom upon Bunker Hill was of a rich crimson in color and flowed from a black body, unstintingly given in the cause of liberty.

It has been said no nation or race can claim the right to liberty, or the freedom of a land, without the shedding of blood. If it takes the shedding of blood to guarantee equitable rights in a nation, then the Negro truly has established his right to every privilege and opportunity America affords. His blood has drenched the soil and hallowed the ground.

You state that the Negro wishes amalgamation. As a southerner, I should not have to remind you where the desire for amalgamation originated. If the sainted Lincoln had never lived, today there would be only faint traces of the original race brought from Africa over three-hundred years ago.

In your letter, reference is made to the Negro being out-numbered twelve to one and will never receive the opportunity to achieve his highest destiny. Yes, we are greatly out-numbered, but, in the main, by men and women who subscribe to a vastly different philosophy on the race problem than the one advocated in your bill and accompanying letter.

Now, since you have proposed a program for the consideration of those interested in bettering the conditions of Negro-Americans, in the spirit of reciprocity, allow me to offer a brief synopsis of a possible program for the state you represent in the United State Senate.

First, the main reason your state is in the front ranks of "Poverty Row," among the several states, is, so many of your constituents are forced to stay down, economically, socially, and any way a human can stay down, in order to hold Negro citizens down. Also, bigotry and intolerance are religions, causing a vast majority to be void of a conception of right and wrong.

In order to really serve the poor unfortunate people that live in Mississippi, you could model after the senator from my state, Senator

Lewis B. Schwellenbach, or Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, who so recently showed his adherence to tolerance, decency, and true Americanism. Why not cooperate with the President in his efforts to eradicate ignorance, amicably adjust problems of labor and capital, trying to make America a better place to live and work in?

Very truly yours,

John O. Lewis

Editor-Publisher

NORTHWEST-ENTERPRISE

SENATOR BILBO

To us, one of the amusing things mentioned in Senator Theodore G. Bilbo's three and one-half hour tirade in the Senate against the Negroes last Monday, was the statement that the North was responsible for the many mulattoes in the country.....ye gods! That statement, alone, should be sufficient evidence that there was little or no sincerity in the Senator's speech and that the truth was sparsely used during the entire discourse.

For instance, in the Senator's own state, Mississippi there are more mulattoes than in any other state, and it is not because of intermarriage between the white and colored and few, if any of these mulattoes have Negro fathers. We wonder if the Senator from Mississippi has given this phase of the matter any thought.

Another statement of the Senator in which he claimed to be greatly alarmed over the possibility of the Negroes destroying the white race, if they remained in this country, should be taken with a grain of salt. As for us, we do not know whether that is a knock or a boost to the Negro race. If Mr. Bilbo believes that one-tenth of the population of the United States, just seventy-five years from slavery, is so powerful and so super-intelligent that it can destroy the other nine-tenths of the population which claims such racial superiority, then he should be pleased to have such a minority group remain in this country, if for no other reason than for its super-intelligence.

Then, too, yet another statement of the Senator's which tickled us because of its ridiculousness, was that he had the signatures of 2,500,000 Negroes who were "begging" the government to send them back to Africa. However, the statement which made us laugh aloud was that "8,000,000" was a fair representation of the group that wanted to go to Africa.

Getting down to "brass tacks" concerning the junior Senator from Mississippi, we think it is proper for us to state that so far as his record as a member of Congress is concerned there is nothing which reveals that he is the "friend of the Negro" which he claims to be. There is nothing to indicate that he has ever proposed any legislation designed to elevate the Negro or to secure for this minority group its civil rights under the Federal Constitution, neither while he was Lieutenant-Governor nor Governor of the state of Mississippi, nor since he has been a member of the Congress of the United States.

Of course, there always has been and always will be

quite a few of what we might call simple minded people, both white and black, who will follow anybody who proposes a change, but they are to be pitied more than censured. To those who feel called upon to follow or even give serious thought to Senator Bilbo's proposal to send Negroes back to Africa, our advice is to forget it—our prayer is, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Senator Robert A. Taft Laughs At Bilbo's Stupidity

WASHINGTON, April 28—(ANP)

— Taking time out from a busy schedule, Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, Monday morning laughed off the idea that any one would support a wholesale migration of Negroes from the United States.

Said the senator: "There is an organization known as the American Colonization society which takes care of any person who wishes to make this trip. I know because I handled a case for them recently. Of course, I am not opposed to any person or persons who want to make a change and desire to migrate to another country, but in this instance, I am opposed to any mass migrations sponsored by the government."

Senator Taft said he didn't believe the majority of Negroes in the United States endorsed the movement.

He later presided at a committee meeting, entering the Senate chamber shortly before noon to answer the roll call. He did not stay through the entire debate.

Senators McNary, Vandenberg, Borah, Norris and Taft heard parts of the speech, with Senators McNary and Vandenberg taking turns representing the Republican side of the senate during the three hour speech.

Bilbo's "Back to Africa" Movement to Receive Help Of Negroes In U. S. Senate

Chicago Delegation Will Sanction Repatriation Bill Which Provides One-Way Ticket

WPA Leader Praises "Glory Land"

CHICAGO.—(ANP)—The strange spectacle of Negroes accepting Senator Theodore Bilbo, Mississippi's best known Negro-hater, as a 1939 Moses will be unfolded in the senate Monday when a delegation from the Peace Movement of Ethiopia will be present in Washington to back Bilbo's "Repatriation bill" to be introduced on that date.

Bilbo's would provide a one-way ticket to Liberia and \$1,000 cash for every Negro who wants to go, and the Mississippian makes no secret of his wish that all 12,000,000 would go there. This view is shared by the Peace Movement of Ethiopia.

The Peace Movement was organized in Chicago about five years ago by Mrs. M.L. Gordon, who is its national president. The founder, a mulatto woman about 50 years old, has succeeded in establishing local branches in several parts of the country. Its membership is drawn to a large extent from those persons who supported the old Garvey movement and who were virgin territory for any back-to-Africa society after the Universal Negro Improvement Association fell upon evil days.

This delegation which will go to Washington to impress upon the senate the belief that Negroes are in favor of the Repatriation bill is the result of several weeks of heated activity by the Gordonites, culminating in a mass meeting Sunday night at Boulevard hall.

When Bilbo, who has been in touch with Mrs. Gordon for several months, told her about his pending bill, he also had a railroad agent contact the Peace Movement and offer a special round trip convention rate from Chicago to Washington. This would require 300 passengers to use

the rate of \$15, but apparently there were not 300 Gordonites with \$15 to spend in this fashion for the plan fell through.

The delegation will use trucks and automobiles, therefore. The round trip fare will be \$7.50 in cars and \$4 in trucks. There will be no restriction as to membership in the Peace Movement, so that anybody with the fare is welcome to make the journey. Those making the pilgrimage are urged to cook enough food to last throughout the trip, since no arrangements have been made for provisions.

Interest was at fever heat Sunday night. Leaders in the movement helped whip the crowd into a frenzy, pointing to "the glory land" of Liberia and praising Bilbo as a hero. It was stressed that only those genuinely interested would be tolerated in the delegation.

"We don't want any Judases going with us to Washington," Mrs. Gordon warned the meeting. "If they come and make any trouble, I'll have the White House police put them in jail."

The founder also took a shot at the ministers, saying the clergy was against her organization. "It didn't surprise me at all if somebody were to find out the official day the Negroes rise up and run all our 'Uncle Mose' preachers into the lake," she said.

If and when they actually go to Liberia, a town to be called "Gordon City" will be built 45 miles

from Monrovia, speakers said. It was also stated that plans call for the men to go over first, built houses and have them in readiness for the living there after the \$1,000 federal stake was spent.

One leader in the Peace Movement, who went to Liberia several months ago to look over the land, said: "Every Tom, Dick and Harry has been stopping me on the street to ask what kind of job he can get over in Africa, but I've got no time to be fooling with them. I don't want a job anyhow. I want to be where I won't have to wear an old ragged overcoat all winter, and where I can go around with just a topcoat or one of those pretty white suits."

"Why do you know, I was a big man over in Africa, eating and sitting at the same table with the president and the secretary of state? Now, what am I over here? I'll tell you: over here I'm on relief."

It was learned that in a two-page letter written by Bilbo to Mrs. Gordon he never addresses her as "Mrs." but instead writes "Dear President Gordon" or "President M. L. Gordon"—he stated he had prepared a three-hour speech for senate delivery Monday. The Mississippian also told her he knew the Negro press would be against the Peace Movement and the bill, so he was sending a copy of his bill to each of the newspapers. He said he expected the papers to "stir up a fight," but the Gordonites shouldn't worry, since the more fight they stirred up, the better their proposition would be.

Bilbo's interest in the back-to-Africa movement dates from last year when a Dr. Jones, an American missionary who had been in Liberia for several years, talked with the senator while visiting in the U. S. The erroneous impression was created that Dr. Jones was an official representative of the Liberian government. It was then easy for Mrs. Gordon and Bilbo to get together, since both had the same aims in view.

Late in December Mrs. Gordon sent two delegates to Liberia, David Logan and Joseph Rockmore, to find out the official attitude toward migration from the United States. They sail back to America January 4.

The Liberian government told the Peace Movement representative that it was opposed to any mass movement, but did favor selective

immigration. This limitation is made because Liberia cannot absorb every type of American Negro, since it is largely undeveloped country and only those persons physically and psychologically fit for pioneering life will be welcome or suitable.

Since there is only a limited demand for technicians and artisans, most of the newcomers should be farmers or horticulturists with those proficient in forestry work having the best chance to make a living through assisting in the development of the republic's vast forests.

However, opposition of the Liberian government to mass immigration there will be completely ignored, according to the Bilbo bill. In a letter to Negro editors setting forth his reasons for fostering the proposed legislation, Bilbo said: "Let me express the hope that you, as an editor and as a spokesman of your race, will carefully read and analyze this bill and all of its provisions and join with this large number singing these petitions in urging your representatives in congress to pass this bill, and thereby give the members of your race an opportunity to be resettled in the richest country on earth—where they can have a country of their own; where they can prove to the world that the Negro race can make good; where every obstacle and discrimination will be removed; where in their fatherland they can build a great republic that will merit and receive the recognition of the whole world; where every member of the race will be equally free and every son and daughter will be unfettered in their efforts to establish race nationality and to perpetuate racial integrity."

"Again expressing the hope that you will catch the great vision of what this bill means to you and all others who are dissatisfied with their present social and economic status of unequal opportunities under a government originally designed and established for a white man's civilization, I beg to remain, Yours truly—"

Race Group Would Okeh Bilbo's Back To Africa Move

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"Yours truly,
(Signed) Theo. G. Bilbo."

"Friend" Bilbo Blinded By Hatred

SENATOR Theodore G. Bilbo, who has drafted for introduction in Congress a bill providing for the "free and voluntary resettlement of all persons in the United States of African descent in their fatherland, Africa," is the gentleman who, as governor of Mississippi, in reply to a query from Dr. W. E. D. DuBois as to what steps would be taken against a lynching mob, replied in effect: "Not a damn thing!"

The senator sees only two solutions to the race problem—separation or amalgamation. He claims to have memorials signed by three million Negroes who want to migrate to Liberia. Frankly, we don't believe the senator; and if three million Negroes did sign any such memorials or petitions, they did so under a misunderstanding of what they were signing.

And to his solutions of the race problem—the senator has limited them to the one he fanatically desires, separation via resettlement in Africa, and to the one he fanatically opposes—loss of racial identity through amalgamation. There are others, Senator Bilbo, that involve neither of your alternatives; but you'd be blind to them because you are blinded by hatred.

The senator is not so much interested in providing the Negroes, as he says, "an opportunity to achieve their highest destiny," as he is in being rid of us and, therefore, of the necessity to keep on the pressure of repression and proscription. He gives himself and his own determination away in the letter he has written this newspaper, accompanied by a draft of the bill:

"...an opportunity, as you know, that they will never have in the United States where they are out-numbered twelve to one."

He could find parallel propo-

tions for other segments of the population of this nation. None of them, except the Indian, are native to soil here. And the American Negro was here just a few years behind the first permanent settlers. They will be here with the last to go.

Bilbo's Scheme

Billion Dollars Could Be
Used To Raise Salaries

Editor, Journal and Guide: In reference to Senator Bilbo's plan concerning the Negro in America, why send the Negro to Africa? When Abraham Lincoln was President, there were sixty or seventy cargoes of Negroes smuggled from Africa to be sold as slaves in America for very high wages because they were able to till the soil and clear the swamps. Today, the Negroes are not given credit for all the struggles and hardships they went through to help make America what it is.

American history tells us that a man was hanged, during Lincoln's administration for smuggling over a ship "The Wanderer," loaded with Negroes to be sold. Was it simply so Negroes could clear the soil and go through many other hardships, only to go back to an unknown land? If so, why not take the billion dollars Bilbo proposes to spend on his scheme and increase the wages of the Negroes?

This country does not belong to the race that has claimed it, but to all natural born citizens, according to the 14th amendment.

If any American Negro agrees to the plan introduced by Bilbo, he agrees for his race to be thrown back for years and years to come. Just think what it means to move from one house to another in the same town. The idea of going to a foreign land would mean more than that.

Let us continue as we have started by educating our race and sooner or later we will be given more privileges to vote and hold office in larger numbers as the 14th and 15th Amendments provided.

—BEATRICE UNDERWOOD
Clinton, N. C.

300 Invade Capital In "Back To Africa" Move

By WITTIE ANNA BIGGINS

While Capitol Hill is all puzzled over the plea for the admission of 20,000 German children refugees into the United States, a demonstration of more than 300 colored men and women who invaded the Nation's Capital Monday in confirmation of the "Back to Africa" bill advocated by Senator Bilbo (Democrat) of Mississippi is causing citizens of Washington to ask "What's next?" for D. C.

The delegation spent three and one-half hours in the gallery of the Senate Chamber silently listening to the discussion of the measure which would establish a huge colored settlement in West Africa. They learned that the land for the colony is to be provided by the British and French governments as partial credit against their war debt to the United States.

They also learned that the United States Government would pay the transportation costs of all colored citizens willing to settle in the African area, and would finance the establishment of their homes. Within two years, the military government will give way to a civil government, which in the future, would permit the colony to become independent or to become incorporated into the adjoining Republic of Liberia.

The bill, as designed by Bilbo of Mississippi provides for an expenditure of up to \$1,000,000,000 for the establishment of the West Africa colony; and Bilbo boasts that his "whole bill" does not contain "one line of compulsion." He also declares that his bill has the support of "75 per cent of the 12,000,000 Negroes in the United States."

The delegation of colored men and women arrived in Washington in a fleet of 21 or more trucks and cars. They claim residence in Chicago and Indiana; and say that they are members of the "Peace Movement of Ethiopia" Association which advocates resettlement of colored Americans in Africa.

Taking sides with Bilbo's endeavor is the Rev. H. M. Enbrae, Director of the National Union of People of African Descent. He says that Bilbo's "Repatriation" bill "is a step forward in the realization of our central demand"—a United States in Africa, "under the control and destiny of black men." Director Enbrae said that "1,000,000 Negroes stand ready to come to Washington to convince Congress that the bill should be acted upon favorably."

The Stupidity of Senator Bilbo

Arrival Monday in the gallery of the U. S. senate of some 150 Negroes, the most of whom were destitute Negroes from Chicago, in support of Senator Bilbo's Bill, which proposes to purchase "one-way" tickets to Africa for American Negroes, holds no significance except that it proves among Negroes, as with all other groups, there are aul shades of thought and opinion.

Certainly the Black Dispatch feels that the two and one-half million black men and women whom the Mississippi senator alleges have signed the petition requesting that his bill pass, have the right to return to Africa, just as the thousands of Jews who worship at the shrine of "Zionism" have, for many years, been attempting to develop an asylum in the Near East, have a right to return to Jerusalem if they want to.

But we notice the rich Hebrews on the Main Street of every city in America are making no immediate arrangements for passports, although from time to time they lend assistance to those of their group who feel that a sheepherder's life in the rocks and hills of a country already dominated by Arabs, is better than citizenship in America.

We notice also that the leader of the effort, a Negro woman from Chicago, Mrs. M. L. Gordon, who is a former Garvey executive, said before a senate committee Monday: "We're sick of the humiliation and disgrace of WPA and relief. We'd rather be anywhere in the world than in America on relief."

Senator Bilbo could have brought to lot of people up to the senate hearing from his state, whose faces are not black, who could have said the same thing. There are thousands of white tenant farmers, sharecroppers and laborers in Mississippi, suffering from mal-nutrition and lack of shelter, who are sick and tired of the economic conditions under which they daily suffer. Inadvertently Senator Bilbo brought to the attention of the senate a terrible economic condition not incident to race, and which victimizes white and black alike.

The editor of the Black Dispatch personally is not thinking or dreaming of any return to Africa. This viewpoint represents the idea of an overwhelming majority of black Americans. Senator Bilbo's progenitors immigrated into this country just as did the fathers and mothers of black citizens of the U. S. Home is where one sheds blood and sweat and tears, and measured by this yardstick, this may be the black man's country more than Senator Bilbo's. Incidentally, if the good senator happens to fail of reelection and lands on WPA, we will be willing to assist him in the purchase of a ticket to some chemerical utopia. We'll be as good to him as he alleges he would be to black folk.

It is almost laugable to hear this arch foe of Negroes announce that there are only two solutions of the race problem in this country—"senaparation or amalgamation". We have always known that Senator Bilbo is dull, but now we know he is preposterous. He would not recognize a fact were he to meet one riding on the back of an elephant and led by a brass band. Negroes have amalga-

mated more in Mississippi than in any other state. In other words, how would one separate races after they have amalgamated?

It was Dubois who a long time ago said the time to have stopped amalgamation in America was just before it commenced, and that after then it was forever too late. Senator Bilbo has foolishly started out three hundred years too late. If Senator Bilbo had been born three centuries ago with the wonderful vision he now lays claim too, perhaps he could have restrained slave masters from the conubial bliss they had with black women in the slave quarters. You see one cannot eat his cake and have it too, and it is that white men today cannot think in terms of racial purity and overlook the fact of three hundred years of unleashed sex indulgence they visited upon defenseless bondwomen.

The white race for three hundred years has used the Negro race as its social slop jar. Senator Bilbo is an apostle of the doctrine that one drop of Negro blood converts a human being into a Negro. This foolish and childish ethnology and biology causes us to forget that all mulattoes, emphasize the fact not that Negroes are getting lighter, but that white folk are getting darker. It was laughable in the United States Senate last year when Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who sat in the gallery was noticeable lighter than senators from the South, who opposed the anti-lynching bill. In such a realm of truth and fact the imbecility of Senator Bilbo imposes to suggest separation and ignores amalgamation.

Nothing we say here should be construed as a brief for amalgamation. We simply state a fact. If we were to look out the window and tell you it is raining, that could not mean that we wanted it to rain, we would be simply directly your attention to actuality and reality. On the other hand, we are not one of those who believes the world is going to pot by reason of the union of the white and black races. There is every reason to believe that both races will be benefited, Senator Bilbo to the contrary notwithstanding. Walter White is a fine example of what can be accomplished in the realm of amalgamation. Certainly America is better for such a man having lived.

But back to this African experiment: The American Negro who immigrates to tropical climes must acclimate himself, physically, mentally and spiritually. Especially should the urban Negro, who knows little about agriculture and rural life, be wary of this pioneer program. Imagine a cry baby suffering under WPA becoming a leader in the hinterlands of the dark continent. Africa is the land of the most malignant diseases, the wildest animals, and the most violent outbursts of nature. The leader of Senator Bilbo's WPA shock troops will conquer all this, dependence will become independence. Piffel.

Not for one moment would we suggest that American Negroes are not capable of developing Africa, if unhamp-ered by nothing but the problems emanating from the virgin wilderness, but Africa today is not the property of the African; it belongs to the white races who have ruth-lessly taken title to the soil and hold selfish economic grip

over the country, which can only be broken by a changing political world balance. Until that time comes, colonization by American Negroes is foolish. Liberia would today be one of the world's greatest powers had economic assistance been given her by the United States on parity with what we loaned smaller white nations in Europe during the World War. Liberia has been treated in the international arena just as the Negro wage earner is handled down in Mississippi and Alabama.

And while we are on this question of world balance, we might call Senator Bilbo's attention to the shifting international scene. If, as General Hugh Johnson said recently, President Roosevelt has bought a war, and during the next few months we are to see this mechanical civilization convulsed in a death struggle for existence, it may be that we might need the expatriated WPA pioneers to be used as cannon fodder.

World balance is a very delicate thing, which dull individuals such as Senator Bilbo do not seem to recognize, or appreciate. When England recently took a back seat at Munich and the American government discovered that

To the millions of black men who live under the Stars and Stripes, America is home. This is where father and mother are buried, and all of the tender recollections of our lives are wrapped up in the hills where Crispus Attucks died and where Frederick Douglass sounded clarion calls for freedom. One thing is certain: If all the Negroes are moved out of Mississippi to Africa, there will be no way for Senator Bilbo to know whether any of his relatives are being banished or not. The question of separation and amalgamation has gotten beyond control.

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World balance is a very delicate thing, which dull individuals such as Senator Bilbo do not seem to recognize, or appreciate. When England recently took a back seat at Munich and the American government discovered that

world balance was changing, we immediately chased off to develop an accord with Russia, a country which a few years ago was outcast by the capitalistic nations. We last year suffered some surprises down in South America, both at the conference and in the dropping off in our trade revenues with Latin America. This is another fact riding down across the world which Senator Bilbo does not seem to recognize. If our foreign trade keeps slipping and cotton prices continue to slump in world markets, the probability of Senator Bilbo's going on WPA is not a facetious suggestion.

To the millions of black men who live under the Stars and Stripes, America is home. This is where father and mother are buried, and all of the tender recollections of our lives are wrapped up in the hills where Crispus Attucks died and where Frederick Douglass sounded clarion calls for freedom. One thing is certain: If all the Negroes are moved out of Mississippi to Africa, there will be no way for Senator Bilbo to know whether any of his relatives are being banished or not. The question of separation and amalgamation has gotten beyond control.

The Open Forum

Let's All Go Back To Africa

Acceptance of Bilbo Bill Urged

By Richmond Correspondent

(Charleston S. C. News & Courier)

April 28, 1939

Senator Bilbo's Opportunity

Editor, Journal and Guide: In reference to the bill recently introduced in the U. S. Senate by Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi to send Negroes back to the home of our ancestors, I feel that the bill simply says that Negroes are no longer wanted in America, that we are in the way here, and we are out of America the white man can make more progress.

If the United States Government feels that the Negro race will be rendering service to America by accepting passage to Africa, with a certain sum per annum, I feel that the United States Government will be rendering a great service to the Negro race by giving them a chance to start a life of their own, thus making a better life for, and giving a better opportunity for our descendants.

So, while the bill is still pending, it is very wise that we, as a race, gratefully accept it without delay. The story about the bill stated that 75 per cent of the Negro race would readily accept it. However, I hope that our people will accept this bill one-hundred per cent, and wholeheartedly.

The article stated that no person would be forced to leave the country unless he or she wants to, but I feel that if we do not accept it we will be forced to leave. I hope every Negro who lives within the boundaries of the USA will fall in line for what I believe will make us a better race.

—JESSE GATLING

Richmond, Va.

Mr. Bilbo, a product of Mississippi now in the United States senate, has presented a bill that the American negroes be deported to Africa, and The Daily News, of Jackson, characterizes it as a silly proposition.

It is not more silly than the proposal of Arthur Mitchell, Democrat, negro, congressman from Chicago, that the negroes in the Northern cities be colonized in the South. This colored man says that the negroes in the Northern cities do not have equal chances with the white people—despite the fact that they send their children to school and college with the whites, draw double the WPA wage of their Southern brethren, are paid more than double old age pensions, get on WPA rolls without the slightest difficulty (especially in election years), are encouraged and assisted in voting, often are guests in the white folks' hotels and occasionally are elected to congress by the Republican and Democratic parties. In the North hundreds of negroes are policemen, and they hold numerous other offices.

Congressman Mitchell should urge upon the president that discontented and oppressed Southern negroes be deported to the North, to the lands that government is reclaiming at Grand Coulee and along the Colorado river where Hoover dam is.

The South is not the region in the gasoline age for the colonization of the negroes, and this the federal government is beginning to recognize. It is about to condemn the lands and homes of negroes in the Santee-Cooper basin. The senators and congressmen of South Carolina should introduce and press to passage a bill that the government move these colored people to some place like Washington, Indiana, or Wisconsin.

Wisconsin would be ideal as a residential state of negroes, as it is the birthplace and home of American "liberalism".

If Mr. Bilbo would make a truly immortal name for a Bilbo he would amend his bill by providing for deportation of Southern negroes to the Northern and Western states. In this he would have the brilliant cooperation of Senators "Bob" Wagner, Van Nuys and Guffey and of James Farley, national Democratic chairman and distinguished leader of the Roosevelt "liberals".

Were Mr. Bilbo to adopt this suggestion, it is probable that Farley, Walter White,

Guffey, Vann, Julian Rainey, Van Nuys, Heywood Broun, Wagner and O. G. Villard would tour the Southern States and arouse the colored people to a true knowledge of their opportunities in the North. One cannot believe that the tour would have the approbation of Cohen & Corcoran, the well-known White House advisers.

The slogan of these touring Democrats would be, "Now is the time for all good colored men to come to the aid of the party", the present outlook being that in the Northern and Western states aid is what the party will need in 1940.

Opportunity is knocking at Senator Bilbo's door. To accept the proposed amendment would make him the New Deal leader of the senate.

Birmingham, Ala. News

April 27, 1939

MISSISSIPPI'S REIGNING PHILOSOPHER

Senator Theodore Bozo, the Mississippi flash, is going ahead in his quiet, modest way liquidating the problems of state. He has just written a bill designed partially to liquidate British and French war debts by turning over 400,000 square miles of African territory for an American Negro colony. The land, he specifies, should be near Liberia to permit eventual annexation by that republic. He would authorize the president to spend \$1,000,000,000 of your money—he hasn't any—in cash or credit to finance the enterprise.

Senator Bozo's thought, if any, is that thousands of American Negroes should be encouraged to leave their native land and settle in Africa. The Advertiser has not had opportunity to examine the text of the Bozo bill, but it assumes that the Mississippi flash has merely devised an optional scheme. We take it that even Bozo would not make emigration of American Negroes compulsory.

If Senator Bozo gets his bill reported out of committee, we hope he will wake us up, for we should like to listen to the debate on the floor. If he succeeds in passing his bill we should like to be present when the first American-born Negro enlists for colonial service in Africa. Won't that be sumphen?—Montgomery Advertiser.

time the inrush of millions of white immigrants made the Negro contingent a rapidly diminishing factor of the American population and minimized this threatened menace. Nothing more was heard of solving the race question by expulsion.

As outcome of the World War, the doctrine of self-determination released by President Wilson, the black race has increased from 3,000,000 to 12,000,000 since the war. A movement is on foot by 2,500,000 negroes in the United States to form a new African state near Liberia and to transport there all of the negroes who care to go.

banana in me." There is, however, a deep-seated longing and aspiration of every race and nation to return to their racial homeland. The Jew, however widely disbursed over the face of the earth, cherishes "Canaan's Face and Happy Land" above his chief joys. The soul of the Irish race whose members enjoy political and social equality in all civilized lands, feels a thrill and uplift at the thought that "Old Erin" is to be brought again under Irish Sovereignty.

As outcome of the World War, the doctrine of self determination released by President Wilson, found lodgment in the ambitious Negro breasts, which reached its culmination in the befuddled brain of Marcus Garvey which succeeded in convincing himself and millions of his black following of the immediacy of an African Empire, and declared himself President of Africa. He vociferously proclaimed throughout the world that "Kingdom of Africa is at Hand." He organ-

"Lo the poor Indian", though exterminatized his junto with amazing audacity and staged Royal parades through the streets of New York with all the pomp and splendor yet pines to regain his lost hemisphere where of "Barbaric Pearl and Gold." He claimed he roamed the forest and was happy. four million followers throughout the World.

The American Negro is no exception to this black Jamaican's ambition assumed Nationalism. This universal law. There exists in the deep poleonic proportions. Garvey formulated and the recesses of the Negro's soul, consciously of African idealology with its own type of unconsciously, the hope that Africa will be aesthetic and religious culture. His crown-redeemed and will yet take her place amonging objective was to gather up the fragments of the principalities and powers of the earth of the Negro race, of direct and diluted blood where sons and daughters of Negro blood now scattered among all the nations of the world will realize the prophecy that "Kings and an earth and utilize their genius to redeem their mother continent and to bring her culture and Princesses shall come out of Ethiopia." This underlying, deep seated racial nostalgia with that of Europe, Asia and America. Such a dream no Negro ever dared to dream when frustrated Negro leadership and ambition before.

Perhaps the greatest momentum given to this movement was stimulated by an article contributed to the North American Review November 1884 by E. W. Gilliam entitled "The African Problem." The unparalleled decrease of the Negro population from 1870 to 1880, as revealed by the tenth census threatened the Africanization of the United States within a few decades. The nation took fright at the danger of this black menace. All sort of wild proposals were brought forward to avert the pending calamity by returning the

from Negro to Africa. The agitation raged for more than a decade. But when the eleventh and subsequent census revealed the error of the tenth census and in the mean-

The accomplishment of Garvey's dream isolation of the fundamental aim and intent of worth a half thousand years of united en-our Federal Constitution or the American theory of Government.

It was inevitable that political charlatans and shallow thoughted enthusiastic white and black would seize upon the Back-to-Africa Movement as a means of relieving the unbalanced pressure caused by economic and industrial maladjustment of the World War.

Senator Bilbo evidently lacks the equipment adequate to the task essayed. No statesman or social thinker has yet arisen who is capable of devising any scheme of solving the race problem which would justify the vi-

time the influx of millions of white immigrants made the Negro contingent a rapidly diminishing factor of the American population and minimized this threatened menace. Nothing more was heard of solving the race question by expulsion.

Titusville, Fla., Star Advocate
June 30, 1939

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Back To Africa

Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi is strenuously trying to reawaken National interest in the Back to Africa Movement for the American Negro. The Senator, however has not attained the requisits intellectual and moral authority to speak convincingly or impressively on such an intricate social theme. His utterances lack the carrying power of sound statesmanship or enlightened philanthropy.

Taking advantage of unlimited debate allowed by Senatorial Courtesy, the loquacious Anti-Lynching filibuster is allowed to occupy fill the pages of the Congressional Record with his fulminations which resound through the empty Senate chamber.

The return of the expatriated African, either voluntarily or by compulsion, to his native land has been regarded as a possible resolution of the race problem ever since free persons of color became a sizable element of the general population. More than a hundred years ago the African Colonization Society was organized for the purpose of encouraging free Negroes to return to their motherland and build up in Liberia a civilization of their motherland and build up in Liberia a civilization of their own direction where they could carry on under their own vine and fig tree, with no one to molest or make afraid. Abraham Lincoln was an advocate of this method of solution.

The anti-slavery movement resulting in the abolition of slavery, and the enfranchisement of the Negro, so emphasized the doctrine of human equality and brotherhood as

as the merican ideal, that, for the time being, it was deemed a sufficient solvent of all human problems, here on the American soil.

Frederick Douglass, the most prominent Negro produced by this epoch, utterly repudiated the doctrine of repatriation of his race in his well known motto "I have none of the banana in me." There is however a deep seated longing and nation to return to their racial aspiration of every face and racial homeland. The Jew, however, widely dispersed over the face of the earth cherishes "Caanan's Fair and Happy Land" above his chief joys. The soul of the Irish race whose members enjoy political and social equality in a civilized land, feels a thrill and uplift at the thought that 'Od Erin' is to be brought again under Irish Sovereignty.

To the poor Indian, though exterminated in the Northern half of the Western World and amalgamated in the Southern half, yet pines to regain his lost hemisphere where he roamed the forest and was happy.

The American Negro is no exception to this universal law. There exists in the deep recesses of the Negro's soul, consciously or unconsciously the hope that Africa will be redeemed and will yet take her place among the principalities and powers of the earth where sons and daughters of Negro blood will realize the prophecy that "Kings and Princesses shall come out of Ethiopia."

This underlying, deep seated racial nostalgia has been manifested from time to time when frustrated Negro leadership and ambition has projected various Back to Africa Movements.

Perhaps the greatest momentum given to this movement was stimulated by an article contributed to the North America Review November 1884 by E. W. Gilliam entitled "The African Problem." The unparalleled increases of the Negro population from 1870 to 1880, as revealed by the tenth census threatened the Africanization of the United States within a few decades. The nation took fright at the danger of this black menace. All sorts of wild proposals were brought forward to avert the pending calamity by returning the Negro to Africa. The agitation raged for more than a decade. But a recent census revealed the basic error of the tenth census and in the meantime the shifting factor of the American immigrants made the Negro contingent a rapidly diminishing factor of the American population and minimized this threatened menace. Nothing more was heard of solving the race question by expulsion.

As outcome of the World War, the doctrine of self determination released by Pres. Wilson, found lodgment in ambitious Negro breasts, which reached its culmination in the befuddled brain of Marcus Garvey which succeeded in convincing himself and millions of his black followers of the immediacy of an African Empire and declared himself President of Africa. He vociferously proclaimed throughout the world that "Kingdom of Africa is at Hand." He organized his junto with amazing audacity and staged Royal parades through the streets of New York with all the pomp and splendor of "Barbaric Pearl and Gold." He claimed four million followers throughout the

world. This black Jamaican's ambition assumed Napoleonic proportions. Garvey formulated an African ideology with its own type of aesthetic and religious culture. His crowning objective was to gather up the fragments of the Negro race, of direct and diluted blood now scattered among all the nations of the earth and utilize their genius to redeem their mother continent and to bring her culture flesh with that of Europe Asia, and America. Such a dream no Negro ever dared to dream before. The fatal weakness of Garvey's scheme was the woeful lack of practical means to implement his ideal which to say the least was no whit short of that of Mahatma Gandhi for his native India. Nor was his method of implementation less chimerical. The legal genius of America with its amazing lack of sense of humor "To make the punishment fit the crime" imprisoned Marcus Garvey on the technicality of violating postal regulations. We are reminded of incarceration of Al Capone the arch-gangster for his faulty income tax return. After Garvey had given the United States and the British Empire an uneasy half hour he was banished from America and interred in his native Jamaica.

DETROIT GROUP CLAIMS BACK TO AFRICA BILL

Echoes of last year's controversy waged in the press between two rival groups claiming credit for Bilbo's "Back to Africa" plan were heard from Detroit this week.

The "Greater Liberia Act" which Senator Bilbo introduced in three and one half hours of oratory last Monday, was reported from Detroit as drafted by Attorney Ramon A. Martinez. Bilbo's bill died an ignominious death in the Senate last week. Senators refused to have anything to do with it. They termed the Bilbo act "dynamite." A UNP release from the Motor City states, "upon examination the Greater Liberia Act and the bill drafted last year by Attorney Martinez were discovered to be identical in all particulars."

Detroit Claims Authorship

During the anti-lynch bill filibuster in the Senate last year, Bilbo came forward with a plan of repatriation which had for its ultimate aim the shipping of all Negroes to their "fatherland, Africa." While the Negro press lambasted the senator, soundly condemning him as the author of the "Back to Africa" movement, a release through the ANP gave Attorney Martinez credit for the plan.

The next week Mrs. M. M. L. Gordon who led a delegation of Chicagoans to Washington last week in support of Bilbo's "Greater Liberia Act" came forward denouncing Martinez and claiming full credit for Bilbo's bill. Mrs. Gordon is executive president of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia which has headquarters here in Chicago.

Await Fireworks

With this week's report from Detroit observers can only wait with bated breath for the fireworks which they feel are sure will result when the Chicago organization hears Detroit is again trying to "steal their thunder."

Mississippi Senator Stages Back To Africa Bill

Senators Duck Out When Bilbo Demonstrate Racial Intolerance; Bill Is A Flop

Plainsdealer 4-28-39
by A. E. WHITE for ANP Kansas City, Kan

WASHINGTON, April 28—"Nigger Paradise" was the name given Washington, D. C., by Theodore G. Bilbo, United States senator from Mississippi, Monday in the upper chamber of congress when he spoke for three and a half hours on his pet project, the "African Resettlement Project"—something promulgated by the remnants of Marcus Garvey's cohorts in this country—designed, so they say, to return Negroes to the freedom of their own land in Africa.

Not satisfied with this quaint though insulting phraseology, the senator from Mississippi indulged in the usual pyro-technics, so long a favorite with the purveyors of bugbears—"the supremacy of the white race," "white mothers holding black babies," "white women married to niggers" all in the course of his speech on the back-to-Africa movement.

150 Negroes in Delegation

These remarks caused not an eyelash to quiver among the 150 delegates to Washington, reputed to come from all parts of the country to hear Senator Bilbo defend the project. Sleepy-eyed and sleeping, they sat, uncomfortable in the galleries behind the president of the senate, bewildered by the proceedings unrolling before their eyes and evidently unconscious of the veiled insults hurled at them for three and a half hours by the Negro bobo from Mississippi.

Bilbo Lashes Out
Once the floor had been granted the "gentleman from Mississippi" by Mr. Canner, presiding, Mr. Bilbo proceeded to lash right out into his subject.

hammered at the fact that discrimination was practiced against Negroes even here in Washington, which he called "Nigger Paradise." He didn't explain why he called the city by this name, but he did declare that right here in Washington, there were white women working in the various governmental department, married to Negro men.

He blamed the cities of the North for the many mulattoes in the country and also blamed the North for many of the economic problems of the Negro in his own state, quoting reports and history to prove that the Negroes' best possible chance was in Africa.

Mr. Bilbo pointed out that in his state there are 200,000 Negroes and 100,000 whites. Of the former, there are 8,000 on relief and only 2,000 of the latter. Thus by sending out of his own state the 200,000 Negroes it would naturally include the 8,000 on relief and make jobs for the 2,000 whites now receiving relief.

Without calling the name of the organization, Senator Bilbo declared that there was an organization representing 25 per cent of the Negroes in this country, which preyed on the others, exploited them and did not agree with the principles of the resettlement of repatriation plan.

He then called Walter White's name several times and flayed the secretary of the NAACP for his activities on behalf of Negroes in the United States.

Mr. Bilbo declared that this group wanted to see "white women holding black babies in their arms," while the other group, 100 per cent Negro, didn't want to see the spectacle of "white women holding black babies in their arms."

Playing up to the sentiment of racial prejudices, Mr. Bilbo declared that there was only one solution to the race problem.

Separationists or Amalgamationists

Two courses were open to the people of this country in solving the race problem, but only one was the right way. The first was separation—or the shipping of all Negroes back to Africa. The other method was by amalgamation, or the intermarriage and absorption of the Negro race by the white race. This the senator declared was not to be thought of because of the destruction of the white civilization and of white supremacy and the many fine things that the white race stood for.

Pointing out that 20,000 Negro youths go over "on the other side" annually, Mr. Bilbo explained that this meant a large number of mulattoes were passing as white and committing the greatest of crimes, "marrying white women in huge numbers, 'Nigger and a Mule'."

The South was becoming more and more desperate, the senator said, as a result of the annual loss of many of its most desirable population, the whites, and the increasing number of its most undesirable population, Negroes. The South was losing its whites because they were migrating to other sections of the country where they had greater opportunities, and because of this, the South was getting poorer and poorer. The large number of Negroes in the South, Mr. Bilbo believed, was one of the reasons why President Roosevelt declared the South still the number one problem.

Economically, the Negro is out of the picture, for machinery is replacing the "nigger and the mule" (he may have said Negro, but the acoustics were not of the best for his type of voice). Machines for planting cotton, machines for chopping cotton were eliminating Negroes everywhere.

To show the educational discrimination against the Negro in the South, Mr. Bilbo quoted figures from

South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, but not one from his own state.

Wacon. Ga. Telegraph
April 25, 1939

NEGROES' COLONY IN AFRICA ASKED

Measure to Seek Its Establishment at Cost of Billion Yearly Presented

WASHINGTON, April 24 AP —A bill to develop an American Negro settlement in Africa at a cost of a billion dollars a year was introduced today by Senator Bilbo (D-Miss.)

He suggested that the United States acquire land adjacent to Liberia, establish a military government, pay the cost of transportation for Negroes willing to go, and subsidize their new start in life.

Bilbo, in a four-hour speech on the senate floor, said he was "satisfied that 75 per cent of the 12,000,000 Negroes in the United States favor the plan" and added that there was "not one line of compulsion in the whole scheme."

The Mississippian said the "day of the Negro, even on plantations in the South, is gone." The wage-hour law, he asserted, would raise Southern pay rates to a point where white men could take jobs now held by Negroes.

The bill would give the president authority to negotiate for 400,000 square miles of territory from France and Great Britain in exchange for credits against their war debts. Goods and services needed for colonization would be obtained in the same way.

The military government to be established at first would be replaced by a civil government in two years.

Bilbo To Introduce Deportation Bill: Would Send Negro-Americans to Africa

Seattle, Wash. 4-21-39
Says He Is Race Friend;
Asks Cooperation
Of Press

Senator Theo. G. Bilbo, United of Liberia.
States Senator from Mississippi, (b) If the President shall ascertain the Negro Press advance contain that such territory may be ones of a bill he proposes to introduce to the Senate on Monday, April 24. The bill provides for voluntary migration of Negro-Americans. In part the proposed legislation reads:

A BILL
To provide for the liquidation and settlement of the war debts due to the United States; to create a Bureau of Colonization and provide for the migration and colonization of the United States citizens to newly acquired territories; to provide aid to United States citizens desirous to migrate to the Republic of Liberia, and for other purposes.

TITLE I
Section 101. This Act may be cited as the "Greater Liberia Act."
Section 102. It is hereby declared to be the intent of Congress that the benefits and provisions of this Act shall apply to citizens of the United States who may qualify as eligible for citizenship in the Republic of Liberia and who by their physical fitness and climatic adaptability may qualify as migrants to be permanently settled in the territory hereinafter provided for, and who shall have voluntarily expressed a desire to become migrants under the provisions of this Act.

TITLE II
Section 201. (a) The President of the United States is hereby authorized and directed to enter into negotiations, through the Department of State or otherwise as he may deem appropriate, with the governments of the Republic of France and of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, respectively, for the purchase by the United

States of not to exceed 400,000 square miles of territory of either or both such countries adjoining the Republic of Liberia or capable of annexation to the said Republic of Liberia.
(b) If the President shall ascertain the Negro Press advance contain that such territory may be ones of a bill he proposes to introduce to the Senate on Monday, April 24. The bill provides for voluntary migration of Negro-Americans. In part the proposed legislation reads:

BILBO'S BACK TO AFRICA BILL FIZZLES OUT

Senators Call Bill Dynamite

WASHINGTON, Apr. 27.—Senator Theodore G. Bilbo's pet project, the "Back to Africa" movement, fizzled out in the senate Monday while the Mississippi solon spoke for three and a half hours of the merits of a plan, said to have the support of approximately 3,000,000 Negroes in the United States. Listening while the senator outlined his "Greater Liberia Act", designed to return, "free and voluntarily," Negroes to the freedom of their fatherland in Africa, was a delegation of 150 Negroes. The group, journeyed to Washington, the majority of them coming from Chicago and nearby Indiana towns, to hear Senator Bilbo defend the project.

So exhausted were they by the arduous trip—they made the pilgrimage in trucks and autos—they were unable to stage the demonstration planned by their leader, Mrs. M. M. L. Gordon, executive

president of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia. This group claims credit for Bilbo's repatriation plan.

Bill "Dynamite"
Other senators failed in supporting Bilbo's measure, which they termed "dynamite". The fifteen senators in their seats when he began his speech dwindled to two, as the senators one by one diplomatically removed themselves. When he had finished, only Senators Norris of Nebraska and McNary of Oregon remained.

Declaring that fully 75% of the Negroes in the United States were just waiting for an opportunity to settle in Africa on lands purchased by this government from foreign governments, Mr. Bilbo attempted to prove to the senators who remained in the chamber and the crowded though disinterested galleries, that only in Africa did the Negro have a chance for equality.

Speaking from Cotton Ed Smith's desk (his own being too far away in the corner for Senator Bilbo—he wouldn't have been seen) Bilbo declared he had the signatures of over 2,500,000 Negroes, who were begging this government to send them back to Africa where they could become a part and parcel of the Liberian scheme of things—on a grander scale.

Separation Only Solution
Playing up to the sentiment of racial prejudices, Mr. Bilbo declared that there was only one solution to the race problem, the separation of the races. His solution to the Negro problem, separation, is the only hope and will eliminate all future troubles, whereas, he warned other senators that unless they paid some attention to the problem on their hands, they would find out that when the 8,000,000 Negroes were organized, it would be dynamite.

The majority of the Negroes in this country were ready and willing to go to Africa, to take possession of 400,000 square miles of land which this government would take from England and France on the west coast of Africa as part payment of the war debt. And Mr. Bilbo said he had reason to believe that 8,000,000 of the country's 12,000,000 Negroes was a fair

representation of the group that wanted to go to Africa.

Reads Letter from Barclay
Letters from the president of the Liberian republic were read or rather excerpts were read, giving the conditions under which American Negroes would be acceptable.

A portion of a letter addressed to Congressman Mitchell by Kelly Miller deploring the fate of the Negro in the United States was also read by the senator and inserted in the record.

Washington, D. C. Post
April 25, 1939

Colored Group Hears Bilbo Colony Appeal

Senator Proposes Billion-Dollar African Plan Sponsored by U. S.

Three hundred colored persons from the Middle West sat in rapt silence in the Senate gallery for three and a half hours yesterday as Senator Bilbo (Democrat), of Mississippi, advocated a bill that would establish a huge colored settlement in West Africa.

The Bilbo measure, which he claims has the support of "75 per cent of the 12,000,000 Negroes in the United States," provides for acquisition of 400,000 square miles from the British and French governments, to be credited against their war debts.

U. S. Would Pay Billion

The American Government would pay the transportation costs of colored citizens willing to settle in the area and would subsidize them in establishing homes. A military government would give way in two years to a civil regime, which would eventually achieve independence or incorporation into the adjoining Republic of Liberia.

Asserting that there was "not one line of compulsion in the whole scheme," Bilbo's measure provides for an expenditure of up to \$1,000,000,000 for the project.

Colored Groups Back Bill

The colored delegation from Chicago and Indiana arrived in Washington in a fleet of 21 trucks and

cars. Members—men and women—said they belonged to an association called the "Peace Movement of Ethiopia," an advocate of resettlement of American colored persons in Africa.

The Rev. H. H. Embrae, director of the National Union of People of African Descent, said yesterday that Bilbo's "repatriation" bill "is a step forward in the realization of our central demand"—a United States of Africa, "under the control and destiny of black men." The director said that "1,000,000 Negroes stand ready to come to Washington to convince Congress that the bill should be acted upon favorably."

Bartow, Fla., Record
April 24, 1939
Bill To Liquidate Debts

Washington (AP)—Sen. Bilbo (D-Miss) drafted today a bill which would partially liquidate British and French war debts by turning over 400,000 square miles of their African territory for an American negro colony. Columbia S C Record
April 24, 1939

Bilbo Asks British Area For Negroes

WASHINGTON, April 24.—(AP)—Senator Bilbo (D-Miss.) drafted today a bill which would partially liquidate British and French war debts by turning over 400,000 square miles of their African territory for an American negro colony. The land, he specified, should be near Liberia to permit eventual annexation by that republic. He would authorize the President to spend up to \$1,000,000,000 in cash or credit to finance the enterprise.

NEGRO, COLONIZATION OF - 1939

Omegas Definitely Will Not Go Along With Bilbo

Senator Theodore G. Bilbo,
Senator Office Building,
Washington, D. C.
Dear Senator:

Acknowledgment is made of your letter of April 11, with enclosure of the draft of a Bill, later introduced by you, providing for the migration and colonization of Negroes in Liberia, Africa.

Your letter to *The ORACLE* stated that this country was designed and established for a white man's colonization only, that Negroes desired amalgamation, and that the white race will never receive the opportunity for achieving its highest destiny.

The *ORACLE* is not desirous of entering into controversy with Mississippi bigots. Were it not for the fact that our silence may be interpreted by you as giving consent to your damnable bill, we would not dignify your letter with a reply. This letter is written, therefore, for the purpose of preventing you from misconstruing our attitude should we remain silent.

Negroes did not migrate to America and have no intention of migrating from America. They were brought here against their will by your ancestors for the purpose of working the white man's farms, caring for their children and for other purposes more familiar to you than to me.

You state that Negroes desire amalgamation. Let me remind you that it was the type of white man you represent who originated the desire for amalgamation. More than 50 per cent of so-called Negroes who were born of Negro mothers during slavery had white men for their fathers because of the rape of our women by members of your race. This practice continued for several years after slavery, and indeed still exists in some of the Southern States, particularly the State of Mississippi which you represent. The Southern white man seems to have the greatest desire for amalgamation from all indications. The mother of my great-grandfather, Frederick Douglass, was raped by a

men now over, therefore, they are pioneers in a movement to send ALL Negroes back to Africa.

That Negroes will "never receive the opportunity to reach their highest destiny" in Mississippi may be true, but you cannot judge the attitude of your race in other States by your attitude and the attitude of your constituents. As long as Mississippi citizens continue to send to Washington legislators like yourself, Negroes in Mississippi will not have the opportunity to reach any destiny at all.

We are thankful that we have in the White House a President who does not share your views on any subject. That the President realizes that Negroes have made and are still capable of making contributions to this country is indicated by the fact that he has consistently appointed to high office members of my race and of my fraternity to whom you write. All of these men possess an intelligence that you can never approach. They hold Phi Beta Kappa Keys and doctorate degrees from the leading universities of the Nation, and possess too much sense to make a fool out of others. Grand Basileus of the Omega Psi Phi fraternity, in company with them, were occupants of the Senate Gallery. We heard you state that an average of 20,000 Negroes, passing for white, marry into the white race annually. The highest position fact that these Negroes are light enough to pass as whites indicate that at some time, some white man passed as a Negro for the night and caused to be born of a Negro mother, a person of light complexion. It is up to this new-born, when he reaches his majority, to decide whether he wishes to marry into the race of his father, or of his mother, or both. Fredrick Douglass married into both, his first wife being a Negro and his second a Caucasian. He lived happily with both and they shared that happiness.

If the Negro, after slavery, reversed this condition, and practiced what your race taught him about rape upon white women, your race is to blame for giving him such thorough instruction. It so happened that when you were speaking in support of your bill on the Senate floor last Monday, Mr. Albert W. Dent, the Grand Basileus of the Omega Psi Phi fraternity, in company with the writer, were occupants of the Senate Gallery. We heard you state that an average of 20,000 Negroes, passing for white, marry into the white race annually. The highest position fact that these Negroes are light enough to pass as whites indicate that at some time, some white man passed as a Negro for the night and caused to be born of a Negro mother, a person of light complexion. It is up to this new-born, when he reaches his majority, to decide whether he wishes to marry into the race of his father, or of his mother, or both. Fredrick Douglass married into both, his first wife being a Negro and his second a Caucasian. He lived happily with both and they shared that happiness.

Some white men, who have been promiscuous in their sexual relations with Negro women, have now reached the age whereby they are incapable of satisfactory relationship; their use for Negro women and ability, that you and

your kind could never fill.

He has fought in every battle of this country. He was the first to fall at Bunker Hill; it was a Negro, Peter Salem, who fired the shot that killed Major Pitcairn; they have been killed by millions while fighting in defense of the American Flag. A Negro was the pilot of the ship, Nina, that brought Columbus to this country; so they both discovered America. Since coming to this Country, we have woven ourselves into the woof and warp of the Nation. We have in language, in custom, in mode of thought, become thoroughly American, and we are going to die as Americans.

You were a shameful disgrace last Monday while addressing the six Senators who remained to hear you. As we sat in the gallery; we could see them laughing and jeering at your ravings; your own colleague, the Senator from Mississippi, Mr. Harrison, could not string along with you on this latest proposal of yours, and was absent from the Senate. You stood alone . . . a little fish of hatred lost in a big pond. Your colleagues left because they knew that, as usual, you had nothing to say.

All the Bilbos in this Country—and we hope you are the only one—have not the strength to drive one Negro to Liberia. We shall be here as long as this Country stands, thousands of years after the Mississippi buzzards have devoured your musty carcass and sent your soul to everlasting damnation and torment.

Very truly yours,
THE ORACLE,
Frederick S. Weaver,
Editor-in-Chief.

Orlando, Fla., Morning Sentinel
April 25, 1939

AMERICAN NEGRO COLONY URGED African Settlement Aim of Bill

By The Associated Press
WASHINGTON—A bill to develop an American negro settlement in Africa at a cost of a billion dollars a year was introduced yesterday by Senator Bilbo (D., Miss.).

He suggested that the United States acquire land adjacent to Liberia, establish a military gov-

ernment, pay the cost of transportation for negroes willing to go, and subsidize their new start in life.

75 PER CENT IN FAVOR

Bilbo, in a four-hour speech on the Senate floor, said he was "satisfied that 75 per cent of the 12,000,000 negroes in the United States favor the plan" and added that there was "not one line of compulsion in the whole scheme."

"We do not plan to Hitlerize our negro friends in this country," Bilbo declared. "We want to help them."

The Mississippian said the "day of the negro, even on plantations in the South, is gone." The wage-hour law, he asserted, would raise Southern pay rates to a point where white men could take jobs now held by negroes.

POSSIBILITIES CUT

Mechanization also has cut heavily into the work possibilities for negroes, he said.

The bill would give the president authority to negotiate for 400,000 square miles of territory from France and Great Britain in exchange for credits against their war debts. Goods and services needed for colonization would be obtained in the same way.

The military government to be established at first would be replaced by a civil government in two years.

BILBO WORKS OUT BILL DESIGNED TO SEND AMERICANS TO AFRICA

Mississippian Says It Is His Way of Showing How Dearly He Loves His 'Colored Friends

WASHINGTON, April 27 (CNA)—The campaign of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi for deportation of Negro Americans to Africa reached a climax this week with the introduction by Bilbo in the United States Senate of a so-called Repatriation Bill providing for settlement of "Negroes on territory in West Africa to be purchased" from France and Britain in settlement of the repudiated war debts of those countries to the United States. The bill provides for the purchase of territories composed of migrants, in meritorious cases, not to exceed the sum of one thousand dollars in any case—as initial capital for business and industrial enterprises in said Territory." At the same time, the Bill would set up a corporation under the control of the United States Government and to have the exclusive right to all available lands in the Territory, except lands set aside for governmental uses or as tribal reservations for "uncivilized natives."

Introduction of the bill was preceded by a campaign by Bilbo of a form letter to Negro editors in which he protested his "friendship" for the Negro people and expressed the hope "that you will catch the great vision of what this bill means to you and all others who are dissatisfied with their present social

and economic status of unequal opportunities under a Government way, in a humane way, in a sympathetic way we provide terms upon a White Man's Civilization," which and the money with which this

Under the provisions of the Bill, the unfortunate race shall be moved or repatriated to their fatherland. I repeat, and I wish every newspaper would be placed under military rule, in America would carry the statement: We can take our choice; we must either repatriate the Negro to his fatherland or this country will suffer amalgamation and we will have a race of mongrels in the years to come."

of the naval militia subject to all other conditions now required for enlistment in the United States Navy." The naval unit, designed mainly for coast guard service, would be under the command of a rear admiral of the United States Navy.

The Bill also authorizes the Government of the United States to organize labor battalions in this country to be sent to the Territory on what would be apparently a forced

It would provide transportation "by land and sea to qualifying applicants migrating under the provisions of this Act, and to their household, from the initial point of departure in the United States to the point of settlement in the Territory of Greater Liberia."

However, it would bar the "blessings" of the Bilbo scheme to Negro croppers who allegedly are in debt to their landlords "unless written release from such creditors is filed with the Bureau of Colonization."

The Bill envisages "loans to individuals, partnerships, or corpora-

Ethiop Group To Storm D. C., Backing Bilbo

Tribune
Senator Arranged Special Train Rates For Group To Travel

CHICAGO, April (AP)—The spectacle of Negroes accepting Senator Theodore Bilbo, Mississippi, as a 1939 Moses will be unfolded in the Senate Monday, when a delegation from the Peace Movement of Ethiopia will be present in Washington to back Bilbo's "Repatriation bill" to be introduced on that date.

The Peace Movement was organized in Chicago about five years ago by Mrs. M. L. Gordon, who is its national president. The founder, a mulatto woman about 50 years old has succeeded in establishing local branches in several parts of the country.

Its membership is drawn to a large extent from those persons who supported the old Garvey movement and who were virgin territory for any back-to-Africa society after the Universal Negro Improvement Association fell upon evil days.

SPECIAL TRAIN RATES

This delegation which will go to Washington to impress upon the Senate the belief that Negroes are in favor of the Repatriation bill is the result of several weeks of heated activity by the Gordonites.

When Bilbo, who has been in touch with Mrs. Gordon for several months, told her about his pending bill, he also had a railroad agent contact the Peace Movement and offer a special round trip convention rate from Chicago to Washington. This would require 300 passengers to use the ratetions, through the Department of State, with France and Great Britain for the purchase by the United States of land, not to exceed 400,000 square miles, adjoining the Republic of Liberia.

The delegation will use trucks and automobiles, therefore. The round trip fare will be \$7.50 in cars and \$41 in trucks. There will be no restrictions as to membership in the Peace Movement, so that anybody with the fare is welcome to make the journey. Those making the pilgrimage are urged to cook enough food to last throughout the trip, since no arrangements have been made for provisions.

Senator Bilbo's Resettlement Act To Be Presented Monday; Provides \$1,000 Initial Capital

Tribune
Migrants From U. S. To Be Provided With \$300 For Clothing And Household Equipment; Same For Tools

50 ACRES OF FARMLAND A PERSON

Seeks One Billion Dollars From The U. S. Government To Underwrite Liberian Resettlement Project

By ORRIN C. EVANS
Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, April — Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, of Mississippi, is awaiting the opening of next Monday's session of Congress, to present what has become known as his "pet bill", providing for the resettlement of all persons of African descent in Africa.

The bill, as outlined by Senator Bilbo, will, if passed, give colored Americans "opportunity to achieve their highest destiny".

The bill, technically cited as the "Repatriation Bill", is more commonly referred to as the "Greater Liberia Act."

It authorizes President Roosevelt to enter into negotiations, through the Department of State, with France and Great Britain for the purchase by the United States of land, not to exceed 400,000 square miles, adjoining the Republic of Liberia.

"It is my opinion that in this country the Negro will always be discriminated against, and will be denied the opportunity to attain his greatest possible cultural and economic achievement," Senator Bilbo said, last Wednesday, in discussing his bill.

The bill further authorizes President Roosevelt to recruit, organize and train a naval militia, not to exceed, including officers and other personnel, 10,000 seamen and 5,000 marines.

This military unit, according to the provisions of the bill, would be used for coast patrol service on the coastal lands and the territorial waters of such territory.

Provision is also made for the utilization for such coastal service of ships "from the list of inactive ships of the Navy."

Restrictions As To Migrants

There are restrictions, however, as to colored citizens who may be included among the proposed 12,000,000 Senator Bilbo considers sending to Africa.

Escaped convicts or fugitives from justice, unless the jurisdiction in which they are desired waives extradition or prosecution, shall not be eligible to apply for migration, according to the provisions of the bill.

Falling under the same classification are persons under indictment and awaiting trial, and persons applying for migration for the purpose of defrauding creditors.

The Administrator of "The United States Territory of Greater Liberia", to be designated by the President of the United States, shall have the power to:

1.—Make loans to individuals, partnerships, or corporations composed of migrants, not to exceed the sum of \$1,000, as initial capital for business and industrial enterprises.

2.—Provide adequate subsistence, medical care and other necessities of life for the migrants during transit and until finally settled at the point of settlement.

For those migrants who, after settlement, continue in need of aid, Senator Bilbo has made the following provisions in his bill:

Clothing and household equipment	\$300
Machinery, tools, labor materials	\$300
Food and physical subsistence	\$1 per day
Education and recreation	\$50 per person, annually.

A Resident Deputy Administrator shall provide medical aid, medicine and hospitalization for the migrants during the period of economic adjustment, the bill stipulates.

Further provision is made for the establishment and operation of general stores, commissaries, depots, pharmacies, hospitals, infirmaries—all under the direct supervision of the Resident Deputy Administrator.

Board of Commissioners

The Board of Commissioners, who will have active charge of the management of the affairs of the proposed "homeland site", all of whom will be colored migrants, would be composed of a COMMISSIONER OF INTERIOR, who shall be:

"Custodian of all forests, flora and fauna of the Territory, and of all lands not parcelled out for public or private use."

COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION, who shall:

"Establish and maintain a public school system for the Territory, according to the American system and standards of education, coordinating any existent school systems in the Territory with the new order."

COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC HEALTH and Sanitation, who shall:

"Have full authority in all matters of public health and sanitation, including athletic activities and physical development and education in the public schools. He shall also have full authority over all hospitals of the Territorial government, and supervisory authority over all other hospitals, public or private."

COMMISSIONER OF AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY, who shall:

"Have full charge of the economic organization and develop-

ment of the Territory. He shall be charged with the economic adjustment and education of the migrants in the preparation and cultivation of the land for commercial productivity, and open, organize and develop markets at home and abroad for the products of the Territory."

COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WORKS, who shall:

"Take over, maintain and operate all public works completed by a staff of experts, and who shall have charge of the construction of all public buildings, sewage and water supply systems, and all enterprises of a public works nature in the areas selected for city, town or village sites."

COMMISSIONER OF BANKING AND FINANCE, who shall:

"Be in charge of the monetary needs of the migrants, and shall organize a banking and currency system, and shall be custodian of all funds of the Bureau of Colonization, to be expended within the Territory by the Resident Deputy Commissioner. He shall act as treasurer for the military government, and subject to the authority of the military governor he shall have charge of the collection of all taxes and revenues for the military government, and shall be custodian of the same."

A LEGAL ADVISOR, who shall:

"Act as such for the Resident Deputy Administrator, and in the capacity of Attorney General for the military government. He shall further be charged with the gathering and coordination of all existing laws, recommending to the military governor the nullification of those that are inoperative or inconsistent with the policies of the government of the United States, recommending changes, and codifying the law of the land."

Land to migrants will, under the provisions of Senator Bilbo's bill, be parcelled out by the "Greater Liberia Corporation" each migrant being entitled to not more than 50 acres of farm land nor more than 50-foot frontage of land subdivided as urban lots.

The "Greater Liberia Corporation" shall, further, have the exclusive right to operate all of the public utilities for the benefit of the government and the people of the Territory.

"The "Greater Liberia Corporation" shall also have the exclusive right to exploit the underground natural resources of the Territory, and to open and operate mines and utilize the mineral resources of the land "to the profit of the people and the government."

The bill provides that "until Congress shall have been able to estimate and determine the annual cost of the operation of this Act and the available income for the same, the President is hereby authorized to utilize the following funds and credits to put this Act into immediate operation and to finance the initial expenditures in connection with this Act:

1.—"All customs, Federal Internal revenues and other Federal taxes levied and collected within the Territory of Greater Liberia.

2.—"All payments in gold or in cash paid by the debtor nations to the United States by virtue of World War debts, whether the same is a "token" payment, or any other form of cash payment.

3.—"Not to exceed \$1,000,000,000 of any funds of the United States available and not allocated for any other purpose: Provided, That if such funds are not available, the President is hereby authorized to pledge the credit of the United States in an amount not to exceed the said \$1,000,000,000 in order to secure such funds."

In discussing his bill, Senator Bilbo said, "I have in my possession memorials addressed to the President of the United States and to the Congress, to which are subscribed the names of approximately 3,000,000 Negroes, who have expressed through these memorials, their desire to migrate to Liberia, the land of their forefathers."

Drakes Branch, Va., Charlotte Gazette
May 4, 1939

Would Colonize The Negro

Senator Bilbo, a Mississippi Demo-

crat, has it all worked out. In a

bill introduced in the Senate, and

backed by leading Negroes from

various sections of the United

States, England and France would

be called upon to furnish room in

West Africa of 400,000 square miles

of territory, thereby discharging a

part of their war debts to this coun-

try. At one billion dollars a year

the United States would finance the

project, and at the end of a couple

of years the Negro would be turned

loose to govern the acquired terri-

tory.

Mr. Bilbo feels satisfied that fully

8,000,000 of the 12,000,000 Negroes

in the United States would jump at

the opportunity to return to the land

of their ancestry. He does not want

the world to think that the United

States would Hitlerize the colored,

but rather to help them.

There are more ways to look at

the fantastic idea than to colonize

the Negro. No doubt some of them

would willingly accept the offer to

migrate to West Africa, but as for

the high percentage that Mr. Bilbo

assures us to be itching for the op-

portunity, it seems preposterous.

And in the second place the Negro

is a more desirable citizen than

would be the influx of southern Eu-

ropeans—a class that by no means

measures up to the high standards

a majority of the colored Americans

have attained. The Negro, like the

white race, has among its member-

ship an abundance of trifling, no-

accounts, but because of this there

is small reason to swap him off for

a race that is inferior, notwithstand-

ing the howlers contending that

America is not large enough to har-

bor the two races. If it becomes

unanimous that all the Negroes de-

sire to accept the offer contained

in the Bilbo bill and they truly be-

lieve they would be better to live

their lives in Africa, there would

be no kick, but to rid the United

States of the Negro and in turn wel-

come the riffraff from other coun-

tries would prove a calamity in the

end

Bilbo Runs True To Form

Plaindealer 5-5-39

Senator Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi proved to be a "Good Showman" before the United States congress recently when he introduced his "back to Africa bill." We are not surprised at Senator Bilbo, neither or we alarmed. Senator Bilbo is running true to form. The fact that he is from Mississippi, a state where Negroes are denied justice, equal rights before the law, the right to vote and where lynching is looked upon as an "American Pastime", is enough for intelligent citizens to laugh at Bilbo's stupidity. We do not laugh at Bilbo, we are sorry for him and wish to offer our prayers that God, the great creator will forgive him.

President Edwin Barclay of Liberia said that, "Liberia is a nation, not a relief station or an asylum for the poor and destitute," when he was informed that Senator Bilbo had introduced a measure in the United States Senate asking colonization plan in Africa. The only welcome for black men to Liberia from President Barclay is to those of wealth plus brains, and not to radicals with empty pockets.

Senator Bilbo's bill may meet with the approval of some few Negroes and some few white people, but all sensible people know that his proposal is utterly impossible, and so we look upon Bilbo as running true to form.

Senator Bilbo To Introduce Bill To Provide Free Transportation Of Negroes From U. S. To Africa

"I am a real friend to the Negro race," Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi declares in a letter sent April 11 to the editor of The New York Age in which he enclosed an advance copy of a repatriation bill which he proposes to introduce in the U.S. Senate on April 25. After outlining his "interest" in the Negro, the Senator closes his letter with the hope "that you will catch the great vision of what this bill means to you and all others who are dissatisfied with their present social and economic status of unequal opportunities under a Government originally designed and established for a White Man's Civilization."

Senator Bilbo's letter in full reads: "I have prepared and am pleased to enclose herewith an advance copy of a bill that I propose to introduce in the United States Senate on April 25, 1939, providing for the free and voluntary resettlement of all persons in the United States of African descent in their fatherland, Africa, where, in order that, they may have an opportunity to achieve their highest destiny—an opportunity, as you know, that they will never have in the United States where they are outnumbered twelve to one."

Proclaims His Friendship

"Regardless of what any member of the Negro race not in sympathy with the purposes of this bill may say, and regardless of all the hypocritical protestations of

the negrophilists of other races who seek, only for selfish, personal and political reasons, to use and exploit the Afro-American, I am a real friend to the Negro race. It is my opinion that in this country the Negro will always be discriminated against and will be denied the opportunity to attain his greatest possible cultural and economic achievement. "Again expressing the hope that you will catch the great vision of what this bill means to you and all others who are dissatisfied with their present social and economic status of unequal opportunities under a Government originally designed and established for a white man's civilization, I beg to remain, Yours very truly,

"THEO. G. BILBO."

Richmond, Va. Times-Dispatch
May 13, 1939

History of a Dumbo Idea

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Sir,—There was evident anxiety in the two articles from Negroes in your issue of the 9th, regarding the bill in Congress supported by 2,500,000 Negroes who had united in petition for Federal aid to continue the settlement of Liberia. Permit me to make the following statement of facts which should remove all forms of anxiety.

(1) All the essential data of the bill—the Greater Liberia Act—was prepared and distributed more than four years ago by Raymond A. Martinez, a Negro lawyer of Detroit, Mich.

(2) Negro leaders by great effort and during a period of six years obtained the names of more than 2,000,000 Negroes who signed a petition asking that the relief money given to Negroes be used in his race as the white man has a scheme to enable Negroes who shown such capacity, and of fostering an innate desire to stand alone and apart from other races in an unified effort to attain race nationality, and thereby preserve racial inheritances, as other races have shown ability to accomplish the same and similar purposes.

"The Negro, in my judgment, is as capable of experiencing a pride in his race as the white man has a desire to live in a Negro nation and to migrate to Liberia and settle there upon the lands that are held in trust for migrants from the United States.

(3) When the above information reached the United States Senate, Senator Bilbo was quoted by the press as having said that something should be done for these Negroes. Immediately, the Negro leaders requested him to introduce a bill. He has given much effort to advance this bill. Negro leaders have visited him on numerous occasions, and they express high satisfaction over his efforts in their behalf.

EARNEST SEVIER COX.
Richmond.

"Let me express the hope that you, as an editor and as a spokesman of your race, will carefully read and analyze this bill and all of its provisions and join with this large number signing these petitions in urging your representatives in Congress to pass this bill, and thereby give the members of our race an opportunity to be resettled in the richest country on earth—where they can have a country of their own; where they can prove to the world that the Negro race can make good; where every obstacle and discrimination will be removed; where in their fatherland they can build a great republic that will merit and receive the recognition of the whole world; where every member of the race will be equally free and every son and daughter be unfettered in their efforts to establish race nationality and to perpetuate racial integrity."

Mr. Bilbo Gets Off 8,000 Words Of Exactly Nothing

Eruption of Mississippi Senator Labeled "Nonsense"—
Record Proves He Is No Friend of Negro.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 27.—Well, anything can happen in this country!

A big bill, about 8,000 words of exactly nothing, has been introduced in the U.S. Senate by the Rev. Senator.

Ex-Governor Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi, designed to send enough Americans (principally Negroes) back to Africa, supposedly to give the Dixie solon a place to campaign for public office.

The senior Senator from Mississippi was ahead of Brother Bilbo by about ten city blocks when he refused to defeat Bilbo for the U. S. Senate. Senator Pat Harrison evidently knew what he was doing when he "let" Bilbo get elected."

4-29-39
When senators talk among themselves, it is said Senator Harrison allowed Bilbo to come to Washington to keep him from annoying the folks back home every election. (And we might add) to have Brother Bilbo right where the senior Senator could keep an eye on him every day of the year.

The Bilbo Bill is the only eruption Brother Bilbo is allowed to have around Washington. Mr. Harrison takes care of the business of Mississippi. The papers of the country will not have space for Bilbo's nonsense, and the people will never know Bilbo except as the man who wanted some place in Africa where he could run for office.

The man who so suddenly shows a deep interest in "Negroes going back to Africa" was born and reared in the poor pine section of Pearl River County in Mississippi. He taught school and was elected to the legislature, riding on Vardaman's social equality propaganda during the administration of Governor Brewer.

It is said the latter had a dictograph placed in his hotel room to secure evidence causing Bilbo's indictment for bribery. Bilbo's name has also been connected with several sordid immorality stories it is said. While Governor of Mississippi, it is alleged his name was

Some Virtue of Bilbo Bill

By GORDON B. HANCOCK

IN a more naive age when men presumed to think and speak in absolute terms, the philosophers thought that all lying was bad and all truth telling was good.

In our more enlightened day they have come to the conclusion that lying is only generally good, and that there

are times when a lie is justifiable and other times when truth-telling is most reprehensible.

Down thru the ages men have approved this in practice but condemned it in theory. The



DR HANCOCK

reasons whereof we lie or tell the truth are much more important than the lies or the truth we tell. In other words, everything the liar tells need not be lies nor everything the truth-teller tells, be truth.

It is easy to generalize but more difficult to scrutinize. Hence we have some whites who think all Negroes are slave-driving because of slave antecedents, some Negroes think all whites are slave-drivers because of their slave-driving antecedents. Intelligent and honest men know differently.

Senator Bilbo amuses some and startles others by proposing a bill for the Negro's return to Africa. On general principles this writer distrusts anything and everything that Bilbo does because of the Bilbo antecedents, but this is neither right nor intelligent nor scientific.

However improbable, it is possible for even Bilbo to propose something that would rebound to the Negro's advantage. When Bilbo divests his bill of compulsion he gives it a new complexion and it should be considered in the light of this fact.

If there are Negroes in this country who want to return to Africa without compulsion then Bilbo deserves credit for making this return possible. For many Negroes, emigration to Africa is preferable to moral and economic dissolution in this country.

At any rate the Negro who wants to go to Africa is not necessarily a fool neither is Bilbo necessarily a knave for proposing a bill that is unpopular. Unfortunately the stall-fed Negro, down on his moral all-fours, with his head in the jim-crow "trough," is not predisposed to long range thinking. He spurns the thought of having the Negro adventurer leave this land.

Last summer while voyaging down the Mediterranean I conversed with a young Briton who had just graduated from the University of Manchester and was going to Bombay and was planning to be there seven years. When the struggle for existence gets too fierce for the white man in one clime he emigrates to another. When things were too tough in England the Pilgrim Fathers betook themselves to this new land.

The Germans have scattered themselves to the uttermost parts of the earth and the Italians have done likewise. Negroes must learn that it is not the part of folly to go out and look for a land where there is promise of improvement. Legal rights have nothing to do with it. That the Negro has legal rights and citizenship in this country is no reason why he should not exercise the spirit of adventure and seek fortune in other lands if he has the desire and courage to do so.

Just as some Negroes have a right to perish in this country, if they so desire, other Negroes have a right to seek haven in other lands if opportunity is afforded them.

It is time the Negro was waking up to the fact that legal rights and economic opportunities are not always correlative. Some of the Israelites clamored for the garlic and flesh-pots of Egypt long after they had departed from that land. To others these were distasteful. We must give the Israelites credit for "getting out." They might have remained in Egypt and gotten a "break" as did the Negroes in America.

On the other hand they might not have gotten such a break, and the world gives them credit for "pulling out." The stall-fed Negro too easily becomes a super-optimist with his head buried in the jim-crow "trough," but with the starving Negroes it is otherwise.

This is the reason that ever and

anon we come upon Negroes who want to go to Africa or any place where they might have access to some trough. Not because Africa is the land of our fathers should we consider its opportunities but because from time immemorial men have sought, by migration, "better lands." The bill whereby naked, starving Negroes may seek sustenance in Africa is not bad merely because Bilbo introduced it.

Bilbo's Friendship Claims Exploded

By WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

"I AM a friend of the Negro." Senator Bilbo of Mississippi made this announcement, as he prepared the latest evidence of that friendship—"Back to Africa" bill.

Bilbo is excessively modest. Well might he have added, as further proof of his friendship: "I am indeed a friend of the Negro. Do I not owe my very presence in the Senate Chamber to the fact that I have villified and spat upon the Negro people? Have I not hidden the glorious traditions that black Americans have created, and have I not proclaimed the odious slaves and serfs?"

"Have I not advocated a general use of the 'rope and faggot' in order to terrorize black folk so that they might be more easily robbed of the fruits of their labor."

"I have condoned the ravishment of Negro women. The South is filled with midgets, as a result. Yet have I not kept this from the world at large by declaring all black men to be rapists and all black women to be immoral? I have supported the chain gang religiously. I have appealed to the courts for legal lynchings when the voice of an outraged nation condemned the open lynching too loudly.

"Look at me, I stand upon my record, without honor and without shame. Am I indeed not a friend--of the Negro?"

Nor is Senator Bilbo less a friend of white America. Only 18 per cent of those of a voting age exercised the right of franchise in the last election in Mississippi. Bilbo voted. But the majority of whites were unable to pay the poll tax, one dollar a year, and were disfranchised. That 18 per cent

who voted, and who year after year have held power in their hands, are the landlords and industrialists.

Did I hear some one say dictatorship? Perhaps, and yet Mississippi is also still a democracy. But its people have been robbed of their heritage.

But I must come back to the bill. Bilbo's latest expression of friendship provides "free and voluntary resettlement of all persons in the United States of African descent in their African fatherland."

Bilbo, my "friend," the United States is no less the fatherland of those persons of African descent than it is of those, let us say, of Irish, German, English, French, or any other descent.

The forefathers of black America first arrived in 1619. When did yours arrive, Bilbo?

It is the fusion of bloods that has made these United States the great democracy it is. It is the inestimable contributions of the many racial stocks that has made of Our United States a mighty power. We who are disfranchised, white and black alike, we who are ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed—we, the people—love our country.

We view your bill in the light of fascism's murderous uprooting of the Jewish people of Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia. The bill fits into the fascist pattern.

We view your bill in the light of the program for the unity of the black and white South, put forward by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It—your bill—stands in all its un-American, undemocratic nakedness as we make that comparison.

We know you do not speak for yourself alone, Bilbo. Is this the answer of those who have brought

the South to the brink of ruin, to the call on the New Deal to rebuild the South? Black hands will help rebuild our country. They made cotton king, they paved with blood the streets of Mississippi. They will have a word to say about the New America.

We remember that several days ago President Roosevelt called upon the Negro boys and girls of Tuskegee, Alabama, to "cooperate" with those of the white South who had been robbed of their birthright.

Are you seeking to divert attention from that democratic New Deal appeal? Speak out, Bilbo, you are talking, you know, to "friends."

Senator Bilbo, we know you. In your shadow lurks the great bankers and industrialists who have denied to black America, and hardly less to white America, the right to an American life. You have prostituted the Constitution to your mean and covetous ends. The unity of a white and Negro South will bring your career to a timely end.

Bilbo, we heard your vile defamation of black America in the fight to pass an anti-lynching bill. Bilbo, in smashing this new bill, if you introduce it, white and black America will be paving the way for the "World of Tomorrow."

Wilberforce Speaker

WILBERFORCE, Ohio—Wilberforce University will hold its 76th annual commencement exercises June 4. President John W. Davis of West Virginia State College will deliver the address.

BILBO'S PLAN

By Floyd Calvin

There is quite a bit of comment going around on the proposal of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi to make it possible for certain citizens of the United States to leave this country permanently and settle in Africa. This is of course a "back to Africa" scheme.

Senator Bilbo has taken the trouble to personally acquaint many Negro leaders with his scheme. The writer has even received the senator's literature.

We are not in favor of Senator Bilbo's proposal, for we are most heartily opposed to any scheme which would rob the American Negro of his hard won and well deserved citizenship here. The fact that Negroes might have come originally from Africa is no reason why they should give away their preferred position which now obtains in the fundamental law of the land, and is no reason why they should delude themselves into believing that they would not face terrific odds in trying to carve for themselves a racial career in a new or another country. We do not believe the Liberian scheme would work even with all American reactionaries like Bilbo behind it; nor do we believe Negroes here could make reasonable progress in a foreign land if attempted from the motives advanced by Senator Bilbo.

We do not think the Negro's position in American life is such that he stands at an impasse if he does not pull up and leave these shores. We think the Negro is getting along very well indeed in this country. All we have to do is recite statistics in education, economics, health, and general progress, and we will be forced to the conclusion that the Negro is coming along in complimentary shape.

Of course what Mr. Bilbo is worried about is the close proximity of the races. We think the white and colored races in this country have worked out a very good practical plan of getting along together. While it is true that race mixing was begun by force of the dominant race during slavery, it is also true that since Emancipation the races have worked out a very amicable plan of cooperation, with due regard for the civil rights and the essential dignity of the individuals of each race. Because of this solution of the Bilbo bogey through interracial cooperation, we do not think the Bilbo strictures of necessary separation sound or imperative in order to get along racial

ly in America. We believe the white and colored races in this country will continue to get along together with due regard for the rights of each, so long as the racial policy of each group is directed by individuals who love America, and who love all the people of the United States, and who want to see the democratic experiment in America succeed.

So we say to Mr. Bilbo, leave the Negro alone. His name is written into the Constitution, and he is just as much a part of American history as Mr. Bilbo's own people. Therefore, let the Negro work out his destiny here; and let persons speak out on racial policy who want to see the Negro succeed in American life. Let us not have so much discouragement, of the kind that Mr. Bilbo brings. The white American people have really needed the Negro American in the past and there is a possibility that they will really need him again. Let not the Bilbos do so much talking that when the new time of real need comes, there can be any doubt as to where the Negro himself stands.

Bilbo's "Back to Africa" Plan Had Its Counterparts in Antebellum Days

Some Schemes Had Government Backing But Collapsed Completely When Put to Test

By LOUIS LAUTIER

SENATOR Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat, of Mississippi reverts to antebellum days. Slavocratic logic to support the colonization plan he offered the Senate on Monday, April 24.

As Congress increased the severity of the laws against the slave trade from 1807 forward, representatives of the slave states began to act as though they had resolved in earnest to take some steps against the evil.

In January, 1817, John Randolph, of Virginia, laid before the House a petition of the colonization society founded in Washington on December 28, 1816, asking Congress to aid its plan for colonizing free colored persons in some part of Africa.

The plan of organizing such a society originated in Virginia in revolutionary times. Early in the nineteenth century it began to take a more fixed form. The cause of this was the growing fear of slave insurrections which free colored persons might incite.

SYMPATHETIC RECEPTION

A sympathetic reception had been assured the petition of the colonization society because some leaders in the slave states, including Randolph and Henry Clay, were among its founders. The legislature of Virginia had passed a short time before a resolution with the same object in view.

In the House, at the request of Randolph, the petition was referred to a committee. This committee reported on February 11, 1817, recommending that the President should be authorized "to consult and negotiate" with foreign powers for the "entire and immediate abolition of the traffic in

slaves" and enter into a compact with Great Britain for receiving into the colony of Sierra Leone such free colored persons of the United States as, with their own consent, "shall be carried thither."

Both recommendations met the approval of the colonization society. But the House took no definite action. By an act of March 3, 1819, the President was authorized to make regulations for the safe keeping and removal out of the United States of colored persons illegally imported here, and to appoint agents on the coast of Africa to receive them. This act, designed to strengthen the laws against the slave traffic, was regarded as an approval of the colonization plan.

SUBSIDIZED BY TREASURY

In addition, the colonization plan got a considerable subsidy from the Federal treasury. President Monroe favored the plan and construed the law liberally. Northern philanthropists, influenced by the attitude of the Government, contributed.

Both the petition of the society, in which it explained its aims, and its constitution, were adroitly framed. It did not pretend to labor for the abolition of slavery. The only notice taken of slaves in the petition was the representation that emancipation was hindered by the increase in the free colored population.

The free states inferred that by the departure of free colored persons, the weightiest objections of humane slaveholders against freeing their slaves would be removed and emancipation and colonization would keep pace with each other until the United States would be completely rid of its colored population.

The original project, like the Bil-

bo proposal, expressly provided that only those freed slaves who voluntarily consented should be transported to Africa. "Voluntary consent" was wrung from free colored persons.

A bait thrown out by the founders of the society was the gaining of Africa to the Christian religion and western civilization by the settlement of colored persons there. Yet free colored persons were branded as the refuse of the population, whose departure could not be too dearly brought at any price.

LINCOLN AND COLONIZATION

As Senator Bilbo pointed out, Abraham Lincoln adopted the colonization plan as a means of settling the slavery issue in the United States. When he committed himself to it in the debates with Douglas, he had no idea that he would ever have to wrestle with it as president of this country.

In his first annual message to Congress on December 3, 1861, President Lincoln recommended a scheme of colonization. He asked for funds and authority to acquire territory to carry out the scheme.

Carrying out the recommendations of President Lincoln Congress appropriated \$100,000 to aid in the colonization of free colored persons living in the District of Columbia including those emancipated by the Act of April 16, 1862, "as may desire to emigrate to the Republics of Haiti or Liberia, or such other country beyond the limits of the United States as the President may determine."

It also appropriated \$500,000 "to enable the President to carry out the act of Congress for the emancipation of slaves in the District of Columbia, and to colonize those to be made free by the probable passage of a confiscation bill."

ACT OF JULY 17, 1862

In the Act of July 17, 1862, to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, and to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, Congress included a section authorizing the President "to make provision for the transportation, colonization, and settlement,

in some tropical country beyond the limits of the United States, of such persons of the African race made free by the provisions of this act, as may be willing to emigrate, having first obtained the consent of the government of said country to their protection and settlement within the same, with all the rights and privileges of freemen."

Pursuant to these acts, William H. Seward, Lincoln's Secretary of State, on September 30, 1862, addressed a circular to the governments of England, France, the Netherlands, and Denmark, informing them of the desire of President Lincoln to enter into negotiations on the subject of colonization with any foreign government having territory or colonies within the tropics and maintaining free constitutional government which might desire such emigrants.

Only two of the proposals submitted commended themselves to President Lincoln. One was a colony proposed to be settled on the lands lying on the lagoon and harbor of Chiriqui, in northwestern Panama. The other was establishment of a colony in Haiti.

CONTRACT SIGNED

On December 31, 1862, President Lincoln signed a contract with Bernard Kock, represented to be a business man. Under its terms the Government was to pay Kock \$50 a head for the colonization of 5,000 colored persons on the island of A'Vache, which belonged to Haiti.

Kock sought financial aid from New York and Boston capitalists. His scheme was to transport 500 emigrants to this island and begin a plantation. In a period of 8 or 9 months he would guarantee a crop of 1,000 bales of cotton. At war prices, this cotton would yield nearly a half million dollars. Kock wanted his scheme underwritten for \$70,000. He received considerable advances, with which he began to freight ships and collect emigrants.

The Government soon discovered that Kock was an irresponsible adventurer. There was also a rumor that he was in league with a Confederate privateer to hand over

the emigrants on the high seas as fugitive slaves. President Lincoln cancelled the contract. Kock assigned his lease of the island to capitalists who had financed him. They themselves entered into an agreement with the Secretary of the Interior on April 6, 1863, to carry out the colonization scheme.

SMALLPOX EPIDEMIC

Under this second contract between 411 to 453 colonists sailed for Ile A'Vache. During the voyage smallpox broke out. About 20 or 30 of the colonists died. After landing, no hospital was ready for the sick, no houses were ready, and the small stock of lumber shipped was used for the main buildings and warehouses.

Kock was sent along as governor of the colony. He became a petty despot, the colonists finally drove him from the island. Rumors of the plight of the colonists reached President Lincoln. He sent a special agent to investigate. He reached the island on December 15, 1863. In his report he stated: "I found there surviving of that party three hundred and seventy-eight souls. The residue of the four hundred and thirty-one mentioned in the journal of one Bernard Kock, who accompanied the emigrants, had either died or returned to the United States."

He found that the Haitian Government was unwilling that the emigrants should remain upon the island. On the other hand, the emigrants were thoroughly dissatisfied and desired to return to the United States.

The Secretary of the Interior sent a vessel to bring them back. No further effort at colonization was made by President Lincoln. By an act approved July 2, 1864, Congress repealed its appropriations for that purpose.

Back to Africa—An Old Theory

By KELLY MILLER

SENATOR Theodore G. Bilbo, Mississippi, is strenuously trying to reawaken national interest in the Back-to-Africa Movement for the American Negro. The Senator, however, has not attained the requisite intellectual and moral authority to speak convincingly or impressively on such an intricate social theme. His utterances lack the carrying power of sound statesmanship or philanthropy.



DR. MILLER or enlightened

Taking advantage of unlimited debate allowed by Senatorial courtesy, the loquacious anti-lynching filibusterer is allowed to occupy the time of the Senate and fill the pages of the Congressional Record with his fulminations which resound through the empty Senate chamber.

The return of the ex-patriated African, either voluntarily or by compulsion, to his native land has been regarded as a possible solution of the race problem ever since free persons of color became a sizeable element of the general population.

More than a hundred years ago the African Colonization Society was organized for the purpose of encouraging free Negroes to return to their motherland and build up in Liberia a civilization of their own direction where they could carry on under their own vine and fig tree, with no one to molest or make afraid. Abraham Lincoln was an advocate of this method of solution.

The anti-slavery movement resulting in the abolition of slavery, and the citizenship and enfranchisement of the Negro, so emphasized the doctrine of human equality and brotherhood as the American ideal, that, for the time being, it was deemed a sufficient solvent of all human problems, here on the American soil.

Frederick Douglass, the most prominent Negro produced by this epoch, utterly repudiated the doctrine of repatriation of this race in his well known motto "I have none of the banana in me." There is however a deep seated longing and aspiration of every race and nation to return to their homeland. The Jew, however widely dispersed over the face of the earth cherishes "Canaan's Fair

and Happy Land" above his chief joys. The soul of the Irish race, whose members enjoy political and social equality in all civilized lands, feels a thrill and uplift at the thought that "Old Erin" is to be brought again under Irish Sovereignty.

"Lo the poor Indian," though exterminated in the northern half of the Western World and amalgamated in the Southern half, yet pines to regain his lost hemisphere where he roamed the forest and was happy.

The American Negro is no exception to this universal law. There exists in the deep recesses of the Negro's soul, consciously or unconsciously the hope that Africa will be redeemed and will yet take her place among the principalities and powers of the earth where sons and daughters of Negro blood will realize the prophecy that "Kings and Princess shall come out of Ethiopia."

This underlying, deep seated racial nostalgia has been manifested from time to time when frustrated Negro leadership and ambition

has projected various Back-to-Africa Movements. Perhaps the greatest momentum given to this movement was stimulated by an article contributed to the North American Review November 1884 by E. W. Gilliam entitled "The African Problem."

The unparalleled increase of the Negro population from 1870 to 1880, as revealed by the tenth census threatened the Africanization of the United States within a few decades. The nation took fright at the danger of this black menace. All sorts of wild proposals were brought forward to avert the pending calamity by returning the Negro to Africa. The agitation raged for more than a decade.

But when the eleventh and subsequent census revealed the basic error of the tenth census and in the meantime the inrush of millions of white immigrants made the Negro contingent a rapidly diminishing factor of the American population and minimized this threatened menace, nothing more was heard of solving the race question by expulsion.

As the outcome of the World War, the doctrine of self-determination released by President Wilson, lodged in ambitious Negro breasts, reached its culmination in the befuddled brain of Marcus Garvey. He succeeded in convincing himself and millions of his black following of the immediacy of an African empire, and declared himself president of Africa. He vociferously proclaimed through-

out the world that "Kingdom of Africa is at hand." He organized his jingo with amazing audacity and staged Royal parades through the streets of New York with all the pomp and splendor of "Barbaric Pearl and Gold." He claimed four million followers throughout the World.

This black Jamaican's ambition assumed Napoleonic proportions. Garvey formulated an African idealology with its own type of aesthetic and religious culture. His crowning objective was to gather up the fragments of the Negro race, of direct and diluted blood now scattered among all the nations of the earth and utilize their genius to redeem their mother continent and to bring her culture flush with that of Europe, Asia, and America.

Such a dream no Negro ever dared to dream before. The fatal weakness of Garvey's scheme was the woeful lack of practical means to implement his ideal, which, to say the least was no whit short of that of Mahatmi Gandhi for his

native India. Nor was his method of implementation less commercial.

The legal genius of America with its amazing lack of sense of humor "To make the punishment fit the crime" imprisoned Marcus Garvey on the technicality of violating postal regulations. We are reminded of the incarceration of Al Capone, the arch gangster for his faulty income tax return. After Garvey had given the United States and the British Empire an uneasy half hour he was banished from America and interred in his native Jamaica. This international device effectively put an end to the Garvey movement. The accomplishment of Garvey's dream is worth a half thousand years of united endeavor of mankind.

It was inevitable that political charlatans and shallow thoughted enthusiasts white and black would seize upon the Back-to-Africa-Movement as a means of relieving the unbalanced pressure caused by economic and industrial maladjustment of the World War.

Senator Bilbo evidently lacks the equipment adequate to the task essayed. No statesman or social thinker has yet arisen who is capable of devising any scheme of solving the race problem which would justify the violation of the fundamental aim and intent of our Federal Constitution or the American theory of government.

Former American Seeks to Form Cooperative Colony in Liberia; Want 200 Families to Go There

Community Project Has Approval of Liberian Government; Settlement to Occupy 64 Miles; Each Family Must Have \$500

NEW YORK. —(ANP)—Walter F. Walker, consul general of the Republic of Liberia, with offices at 277 Broadway, this city, gave confirmation this week to the report that there is a definite plan afoot to establish a cooperative community in far-away Liberia.

Known as the immigrants' Cooperative Settlement scheme, the project is being directed by G. Henry Ricketts, former American who has lived in the Island Republic for nine years, and is reported by the proprietor of the only electrically-operated bakery in Liberia. Discussing his plan recently in Monrovia, Ricketts had this to say: "The whole plan is worked out on the theory that several single units are capable of bearing collectively more strain and have greater endurance capacity than one, or even a few persons working together..."

To Develop Settlement

"My plan is to encourage 200 families to come to this country and to develop an entirely new settlement all by ourselves, through the cooperative system. My scheme has been submitted to His Excellency, President Edwin Barclay of Liberia, and has met with his gracious approval...He has granted an entire township on which we can build and establish ourselves

"We need honest, industrious, race-loving people. People who are interested in nation building. We need men who feel and can prove themselves men among men. Because of the fact that this is a tropical country, and for the good of all concerned—people from southern United States and those with a West Indian background will be the best fitted for the task of pioneering at this time...But bear in mind that the government and the people of Liberia welcome every black man who is capable of taking care of himself.

"The settlement will be on one of

the rivers here, the most convenient route to Monrovia from any point where there is forest land. This means eight miles along the river and eight miles back—64 square miles of virgin land. Each family is to buy 75 acres, and get 25 acres from the government, making a total of 100 acres for each family. This land will cost 50 cents per acre and a town lot will not cost more than \$5.

\$500 For Each Family

"Although it is the policy of the government to require that each family settling here have \$1,000, President Barclay has agreed to lower this requirement to \$500 for each family coming here under my auspices. Interested Americans can get full information concerning the project from Liberian Counsel General Walter F. Walker in New York city, or they may write me direct at the following address: G. Henry Ricketts, P. O. Box 26, Monrovia, West Africa."

"This plan of Mr. Ricketts has the approval of the government of Liberia," said Consul General Walker here in New York this week, "who have assured him of fullest operation; but the government wishes it to be known that it believes in the integrity of Mr. Ricketts and the feasibility of his scheme and that it will follow his activities to see that no one is defrauded through his cooperation plan. This consulate general is open for answering any question regarding this plan that my reader might wish to ask."